

CLASS. NO. 36

15251 v

A Short History of Old Fort William in Bengal.

III.

OLD FORT WILLIAM, AVENGED, FORGOTTEN, AND REMEMBERED.

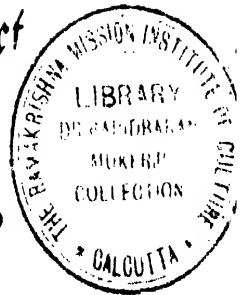
Old Fort William Avenged.



O recover Calcutta an expedition sailed from Madras in October 1756. It was commanded by Clive and Watson, and consisted of four men-of-war, three Indiamen, a fire-ship and two transports, carrying 900 European soldiers and 1,500 sepoys. In December it reached Fulta on the river Hugli, where it found the English refugees in a forlorn condition. Though he had but a handful of men and though two of his ships with the best of his artillery had not yet arrived, Clive resolved upon immediate action. On the 27th the expedition advanced on Calcutta.

The first blow was directed against the small fort at Budge-Budge, a village to the south of Calcutta on the left bank of the river. Clive proposed the plan of using the river to turn the enemy's position. He wished to land his troops in boats at a point to the north of the village, and having thus interposed between it and the city, to compel the fort to surrender. To this the admiral would not agree. Only Captain Coote with the King's troops was sent up in boats to Budge-Budge. The rest of the force under Clive was landed at a point lower down the river at four in the afternoon, and, after a night march of sixteen hours through swampy country covered with underwood, arrived on the morning of December 29 before the village. Then followed the usual consequences of a division of forces. Clive's intelligence was bad. He was told that Coote had landed at the fort ;* he was not told that Manik Chand, with two or three thousand troops, was encamped only some two miles off. He sent forward the grenadier company ; and all his sepoys were to remain under cover near the fort, ready for assault, while the others were halted in a hollow to intercept the garrison. In this position Clive was surprised about ten in the morning by Manik Chand, and but for great presence of mind, would have been cut to pieces.

* It is to be regretted that Dr. Wilson has dealt as briefly with the story of the capture of Budge-Budge. The story is told with ample detail by Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-1757*.



Vol 2, No 1, January 1908.

The skirmish is said to have been decided by a shot which pierced the turban of the governor who turned tail in alarm and retired to Calcutta. No further resistance was offered. The forts on the river fell, and, by January 2, 1757, Calcutta was recovered. On the 10th the English followed up the blow by the capture of Hugli.

On their return to Calcutta the English found themselves almost reduced to beggary, having no means of support except the usual allowance from the Company. Their private trade was, for the time, gone, their property had been seized by the soldiers, their houses pulled down or burnt. Only the merchandise belonging to the Company which had been kept for the nabob was found intact. The church of St. Anne was a ruin: the fine building within the fort had been demolished to make room for a mosque. Yet the poor half-ruined building was nearly the cause of a serious quarrel between the English leaders. For Admiral Watson, as the King's representative, claimed possession of Fort William, of which he wished to make Eyre Coote governor; while Clive claimed possession of the fort as the representative of the East India Company. The dispute was at length settled in the following manner: Admiral Watson handed over the keys of the fort to Coote and Coote handed them over to Clive.

Towards the end of the month, the nabob again advanced on Calcutta. He probably expected, as before, to win an easy victory. The defences of the city remained the same; a small brick fort in the centre; at the circumference a long ditch. This work, begun to resist the Mahrattas in 1743, was still unfinished. Beginning at Chitpore, it was carried eastwards for half a mile, and for another half a mile, south-eastwards, to the gardens of Govinda Ram Mitra and Amichand, round which it was deflected. Thence, it turned almost due south following the line of the Circular Road. Two highways crossed it leading from the city eastwards. The one, the "causeway," is the present Gas Street; the other was the "avenue" which we call Bow Bazar. A little to the south the ditch ended in nothing.

Compared with the large army of the nabob, the forces of the English were still few in number, but Clive was in himself equal to many thousand soldiers. He had already seen the strategic advantages of the English command of the river, but at Budge-Budge he had been overruled. He now determined to use this advantage to the full, to turn the enemy's position and force him to form front to a flank.

The English forces were concentrated in a fortified camp to the north of the city. The nabob, passing them by, encamped between the Salt lake and the Mahratta ditch. Some of his troops crossing the ditch entered the streets and closed up the approaches. The nabob himself took up his quarters in Amichand's garden. They numbered more than 40,000 men while Clive had

only 1,350 Europeans and 1,000 boys. Supplies began to fail the English and their workmen and servants were deserting. On February 4 a deputation waited on the nabob to ascertain his intentions and to ask him to withdraw. His refusal determined Clive to attack without delay.

The game of chess faithfully reproduces the conditions of an Indian battle. When the king is taken the contest is decided. It does not matter what other pieces remain. The genius of Clive saw this. He also saw that a small force can, by surprise, make its way through masses of opponents, just as the heavy brigade charged through the Russian squadrons at Balaclava. On these considerations he based his tactics. His plan was to make a sudden attack on the flank and rear of the enemy, spike his artillery, and seize the nabob by surprise. The movement began at three in the morning. About 6 o'clock the English entered the enemy's camp, through which they fought their way enveloped in mist. By eight they were masters of the position. Had they been able to see, the action would have been decisive. But the fog grew thicker and they lost their road. They marched on, feeling their way by the Mahratta ditch, till they reached the causeway. Clive, recognising the spot, ordered the troops to form up in column on the road, intending to attack the barrier at the end of the causeway, re-enter the city, and march up inside the ditch to Amichand's garden, where the nabob was. In the confusion the artillery on the right fired into the left as it wheeled round and began to march along the road; and the soldiers rushing across the causeway took refuge on the other side. Here Clive again attempted to form a column of attack, but a battery to the south of the causeway on the line of the ditch suddenly opened fire on the masses of the English. They therefore again extended into line and continued their march southwards, dragging their guns with difficulty over the rice fields. When at last the fog cleared they found that they were nearing the avenue. The entrance was guarded by a body of troops, but these were easily dispersed, and the English returned along the road to Calcutta after a sharp action in which they lost two guns and a hundred men.

The most surprising circumstance connected with this brilliant action is the obtuseness of its critics,* who consider that Clive should have made the attack from the streets of Calcutta and not from his fortified camp to the north. Such a manœuvre would have decided nothing. At most Clive would have driven back the nabob's troops for a few days. In the end

* Malleison cannot even understand Orme's account of the action. He confuses the *causeway* with the *avenue*, and, having thus hopelessly befogged himself and his readers, says that Orme is wrong! Clive in fact suffered, and still suffers the usual hard fate of genius. Living he was overruled by mediocrities like Watson; after his death, mediocrities disfigure his life's story with misunderstandings and futile criticisms.

numbers would have prevailed and Calcutta would have been lost. The flank attack, if successful, would have been decisive. The nabob, cut off from all possibility of retreat, could not have escaped. As it was, the movement, though not completely successful, had been in the right direction.

The nabob, alarmed for his communications and for his own personal safety, retreated and opened negotiations. On February 9 he signed a treaty by which he restored the English the goods and villages he had seized, promised compensation for what was damaged or destroyed, recognised all their former privileges, and permitted them to establish a mint and to build fortifications. Then a defensive alliance was concluded between the nabob and the English.

The English now turned upon the French at Chandannagar, which was taken, after a gallant defence, on March 24, 1757. But Siraj-ud-daula, suspicious of the growing power of the English, resolved to attack them for a third time and began to intrigue with the French. He did not know that a body of conspirators headed by his general, Mir Jafar, were plotting his destruction. One of these men, Jagat Seth, the great banker at Murshidabad, proposed that overtures should be made to the English with whom he had had business transactions and in whose good faith he confided. Clive, divided between his anxiety to return to Madras and his fear that the nabob was only waiting for an opportunity to renew hostilities, consented to join the conspiracy, and became involved in much doubtful negotiation. In June he openly advanced against Murshidabad and on the 23rd he met and routed the nabob, at Plassey. Thus the fall of Calcutta was avenged. Siraj-ud-daula was destroyed and Mir Jafar raised to the throne in his stead.

The new ruler had now to reckon up the cost. In the first place, Calcutta claimed compensation for the losses inflicted by Siraj-ud-daula : £1,000,000 to the Company, £500,000 to the English inhabitants, £200,000 to the native inhabitants and £70,000 to the Armenians. Then, the army, the navy, and the council required donations ; and, lastly, there were the Hindu and Mahomedan supporters of the new rule to be satisfied. All the money in the treasury of Murshidabad did not amount to more than £1,500,000. The English, therefore, agreed to take half their demand at once and the other half was to be discharged in three years. The new nabob also agreed to ally himself offensively and defensively with the English, to confirm all their privileges, to extirpate the French from Bengal, to vest the Company with all the lands within the Mahratta ditch and 600 yards beyond it, to make them collectors of the revenue for the country south of Calcutta lying between the lake and the river, to hire the English troops

whenever he needed assistance, and to erect no fortifications on the river from Hugli downwards. During the months of July and August coin, gold ornaments and precious stones poured into Calcutta. In the end, the English demands had to be met by assignments on the revenues of Burdwan, Krishnagar and Hugli.

At the beginning of 1758 Clive might have returned to Madras, where the struggle between the French and the English continued, but, perceiving the strategic importance of Bengal, he determined to remain and use it as his base of operations. To secure his position in Calcutta he planned the modern Fort William. To defend Bengal he carefully collected the necessary armed forces, and with them drove off the attack of native invaders. He also did his best to maintain the alliance with Mir Jafar; but the nabob, jealous of the English, began to intrigue with the Dutch.

In August 1759 it was rumoured in Calcutta that a powerful armament was fitting out at Batavia for Bengal. In October a fleet of seven ships appeared in the Bay. Mir Jafar, who was at the time actually in Calcutta as Clive's guest, tried to conceal his guilty confusion beneath an assumption of carelessness. The Dutch, he said, were insolent and disobedient. He would go to Hugli and chastise them. But he stopped on the way at a country seat, where he received a deputation from Chinsurah with every mark of good will. Three or four days later, he informed Clive that he had granted some indulgence to the Dutch in their trade, and that they had engaged to leave the river with their ships and troops as soon as the season would permit. It was not difficult to understand the real meaning of the nabob.

At this crisis Clive had at his disposal only 240 Europeans, 80 gunners and 1,200 sepoy. He strengthened the old forts at Garden Reach below Calcutta, called in all the soldiers he could, and put the volunteer militia under arms. He was, however, in a most anxious situation. Not only were his forces small, but he was uncertain whether he could rightly use them against a power with whom the country was at peace.

In these circumstances the Dutch themselves removed all his difficulties. They had already sent to Calcutta a great remonstrance vowing vengeance if the English government persisted in searching their boats and obstructing the advance of their troops up the river. They followed their remonstrance up by open hostilities on the banks of the river, tearing down the English colours, firing at English boats, seizing grain and vessels, men and guns. Clive no longer hesitated. He stationed his best troops below Calcutta at the old forts, and ordered Colonel Forde with the rest to march northward, seize Barnagar and Serampore, and threaten Chinsurah. Holwell took charge of Fort William with the militia, and Commodore Wilson guarded the river with three ships. Clive had resolved first to make sure of his

command of the river, and then to use it as before to interpose between the different portions of the enemy's forces.

On October 23, the Dutch fleet landed their troops, 1,500 men, at Sankral on the west bank of the Hugli. On the 24th, as it dropped down the river, it was met and attacked by Commodore Wilson. The action is one of the most brilliant in the annals of naval warfare. The Dutch fleet consisted of four ships, the *Vlissengen*, the *Bleiswyk*, the *Welgeleegen* and the *Prince of Orange*, each carrying 36 guns; of two ships, the *Waeseld* and the *Elizabeth Dorothea*, each carrying 26; and of the *Mossel*, carrying 16 guns. To oppose them, Commodore Wilson had only three Indiamen, each carrying about 30 guns, his own ship the *Calcutta*, the *Duke of Dorset* under Captain Forrester, and the *Hardwicke* under Captain Sampson. The action was begun by Captain Forrester who soon laid the *Duke of Dorset* alongside of the *Vlissengen*; and after a fierce combat, lasting two hours, compelled her to strike her colours. The other ships were longer in coming to close quarters. When at last they succeeded, two of the smaller Dutch ships cut their cables and fled, a third ran aground, while the *Welgeleegen* and the *Prince of Orange*, following the example of the *Vlissengen*, surrendered. Only the *Bleiswyk* escaped, and she was taken by two English ships which she met at the mouth of the river. The Dutch troops were thus deprived of their original base to the south; between them and their only possible base to the north were the forces of the English. On the same day that Commodore Wilson destroyed their fleet, Forde met the garrison advancing from Chinsurah and drove it back with loss. The next day he met at Bidderra* the freshly landed troops. He had fewer men but the superiority of position. He had also with him a hundred horsemen sent by the nabob to spy on his movements and to support the winners. He accordingly sent to Calcutta for permission to engage. The note reached Clive at the card table, who then and there wrote in pencil "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of the Council to-morrow." The action which followed was short, bloody, and decisive. At about ten in the morning the Dutch led by Colonel Roussel, a French soldier of fortune, advanced to the attack. On coming across the ditch, which covered Forde's position, but of which they had been ignorant, they were thrown into the greatest confusion, wavered, broke and fled. The nabob's cavalry charged and completed their destruction. 120 Europeans and 200 Malayese were left dead upon the field; 300 were wounded; Roussel, 14 officers, and nearly 400 men were made prisoners; a few only escaped, of whom 16 reached Chinsurah. The hopes of Mir Jafar and his Dutch allies were extinguished for ever.

* Bidderra cannot be found on any known map. See *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, p. 252.

Old Fort William Forgotten.

Among the most pressing questions which the English had to consider on their return to Calcutta in 1757 was their urgent need of fortifications. In March, 1757, the Directors, on hearing of the death of Scott, ordered Captain John Brohier, the Engineer of Madras, to proceed to Bengal; and in May they wrote to say that they had entertained a Mr. James Mace to be Chief Engineer. But these measures came far too late to be of much use.

Left to themselves, Governor Drake and his council could probably have discussed and delayed the business for a year; and finally reconstructed the old fort in a cheap form; but Clive would not allow matters to be settled in this slipshod fashion.

On January 8 he wrote to the Directors to inform them of the measures immediately necessary to the safety of the place. "The gentlemen here are come to a resolution of raising the houses near the fort, and I shall give my utmost assistance in putting it in the best posture of defence possible, which, however, can never make it more than barely tenable against a country enemy, for to all its former defects when taken from us, the Moors have broke down part of the curtain to make room for a mosque they were erecting: as there is no one here capable of plannin gor erecting a proper fortification for this settlement, I cannot help representing to you, gentlemen, the immediate necessity of sending some skilful person for that service from the Court."

Again on January 28 he writes: "I have the pleasure to acquaint you that a ditch of 30 feet wide and 12 deep is finished, an esplanade of 200 yards and a glacis will likewise be completed in 5 or 6 days, to the southward; the wall of the godown is raised equal to the curtain; and a strong battery will be erected at the southern barrier by the water side, which will flank all that face; another at the northern barrier by the water side will flank the northern face; to the east, a ravelin, which had been begun by the gentlemen of Calcutta, will be made a very large fine battery, which will flank all that face; from the western side there is nothing to apprehend, being well secured by the river and a strong line of guns; all work, I am positive, will be completed in less than 10 days; the ditch will be pallisaded, and may either be kept wet or dry with great ease; in short, I may assure you, Fort William can never be taken again by the Moors; but by cowardice."

These anticipations were far too sanguine. In the sequel it appears that as soon as Clive left Calcutta the works he had started came to a standstill and the days of endless discussion returned. In May, Captain Robert Barker proposed another scheme for enlarging the old fort. At the request of the governor, he examined the ground eastward of the factory, and was

of opinion that with a little expense a proper spot might be cleared to the distance of about 600 yards sufficient for a fort and an esplanade. Captain Barker was ordered to prepare a plan ; but the execution of it was suspended till it had been approved by Captain John Brohier, who had been placed in charge of the work in Bengal. Meanwhile, in order to secure the old fort in the best manner possible, it was suggested that the parapets of the four bastions should be rebuilt ; the battery on the riverside repaired and the new works pallisaded.

In July, Brohier arrived, and, after taking a cursory survey of the place, proposed the building of a hexagonal citadel to the south of the old dock. Three of the sides were to flank the river, and the fortifications were to be erected in earth cased with brickwork rising to the height of 4 feet above high water mark. Extensive works were to be carried from the citadel right round the town to some point above the Portuguese and Armenian Churches. On this line the houses were to be compensated by being granted building sites in the park, which was to be laid out in streets. These proposals were in their turn considered by the committee of fortifications, and orders were actually given to demolish all the houses south of the dock and the park.

In August, when Clive returned to Calcutta from setting Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal, he swept away all these cobweb schemes and laid down the lines of the present fort. A large portion of the site selected for the new citadel was covered with thick tiger jungle which could be easily cut down. But on the edge of the water by the riverside was the village of Govindpore founded 200 years earlier by the Setts and Bysacks, the pilgrim fathers of Calcuta. For 200 years the shrine of Govind Ji had stood at this spot. It was now necessary to remove the tutelary deity to a habitation in the north of Calcutta, whither the whole colony migrated. The houses were valued as equitably as possible ; compensation was given to the dislodged residents, and other lands assigned them.

Till the new fort could be built the old fort was retained for military purposes. In June, 1758, the Company's goods were all removed and the place was entirely given up to the military for barracks ; and towards the end of 1759 orders were given to build slight apartments on the "cotta godowns and the long row" for the reception of the officers of Colonel Coote's battalion.

In 1760 the space between the east gate and the Black Hole prison was converted into a church. On returning to Calcutta the English had at first taken into use the Portuguese Church for their services ; but the building was in bad repair and was found to be very inconvenient. The Council was therefore appealed to, and on March 24 "taking into consideration the unwholesomeness and dampness of the church now in use as well as the injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese" it ordered "the

surveyor to examine the remains of the gateway in the old fort and report to us what it will cost to put it in tolerable repair and make it fit for a chapel, till such time as the chapel, designed to be built in the new fort, be erected." The cost of this chapel, according to Mr. Long, was Rs. 2,500. It was built inside the old fort against the east curtain wall immediately to the south of the east gate. Its south end must have adjoined the Black Hole prison, then used as a store for goods. This end of the chapel, which was probably used as the chancel, had under it a store place which was perhaps the underground chamber discovered at the spot in the excavations of 1891. The chapel had a high pitched roof of thatch. Its length was 110 feet and its breadth 31 feet 6 inches. The building was finished in June, while Holwell was still acting as Governor, and was probably consecrated with Masonic ceremonies on the 24th of the month, the feast of St. John the Baptist, to whom it would seem to have been dedicated.* Miss Goldborne describes this chapel as a room in the old fort, "a ground floor, with an arrangement of plain pews." And she tells us that here at church "all ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by all gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hands to conduct them to their seat. Accordingly, those gentlemen, who wish to change their condition (which between ourselves are chiefly old fellows) on hearing of a ship's arrival make a point of repairing to this holy dome and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers." The church was much too small for the constantly growing congregation. Yet for twenty-five years it was the only place of religious worship for the English in Calcutta. Why this should be, it is hard to see; for the Company had demanded and received compensation from the nabob for the destruction of St. Anne's church. Yet instead of rebuilding the old church the Council allowed Barwell, under the assumed name of Lyon, to acquire the site together with a long strip of land on the north side of what is now Dalhousie Square, upon which he built the well-known range of buildings long inhabited by the Company's writers.

In 1767 all the military were withdrawn from the old fort in order that it might be converted into a Custom House, and various buildings were erected to adapt it to its new uses.

Nothing was done to preserve the historic site of the Black Hole. In 1803, Lord Valentia writes that it is "now part of a godown of warehouses." "It was filled with goods and I could not see it. The little fort is now used as a Custom House." A resident of Calcutta also, who visited the cell in itself in 1812, briefly describes it in similar terms. In fact the old fort and the Black Hole were regarded as part of an older and humbler order of

* This was Archdeacon Hyde's conjecture, but the Surveyor did not report that the chapel was ready for use until July 17th. See Watson's *Old Fort William*, Vol. 11, p. 158. W. K. F. •

things, and the new victorious generation disdained the poor sad walls of thin brick. At length during the reforming administration of the Marquis of Hastings both fort and prison cell disappeared. The foundation stone of the new Custom House was laid on Friday, February 19, 1819, with imposing Masonic ceremonies, and all Calcutta congratulated itself upon the vast improvement thus effected in the appearance of the city.

Three pictures by Daniell, in 1786, enable us to form some idea of the appearance of the fort in this, the last, stage of its existence. One of them shows us the western face with the two bastions still standing; but the river wall has gone and a greater portion of the curtain has been pulled down, and the new Custom House building projects over it. A second picture shows us the east side of the fort with bastions, with gates and the curtain walls all standing. The plastering, however, has fallen away in many places and trees and shrubs are growing out of the brickwork.

In both this picture and also in a third picture, we see represented the monument which Holwell erected at his own expense over the grave of those who perished in the Black Hole prison. On the morning of June 21 the bodies had been huddled into the ditch of the ravelin and an earthwork hurriedly thrown up to cover the east gate. On the edge of this ditch immediately in front of the gate Holwell set up a lofty octagonal obelisk, 46 feet high, with inscribed stone tablets on two of its sides recording the names of the victims and the victory by which their death was avenged. There is no record to show in what year the monument was erected; but it must have been before Holwell left India in 1760. Such importance did the old governor attach to this incident in his life, that he afterwards had his portrait taken full length, it is thought by Sir Joshua Reynolds, showing him in the act of supervising the building of the monument with the plan in his hands. For about sixty years the old monument was a familiar object to Calcutta. The old maps all show it. Lord Valentia alludes to it. De Grandpre gives an inaccurate account and picture of it. But it was carefully drawn from more than one point of view by the Daniells and correctly described by Asiaticus. Unfortunately Holwell had omitted to provide funds for keeping it in repair, and the destructive climate of Calcutta was left to do its worst upon the masonry structure. Tradition says that it was struck by lightning; Britannicus testifies to "its dark and weather-beaten appearance;" the French traveller thinks it mournful. It had become unsightly. It was too monumental for the chief thoroughfare in the heart of the city. Prosperous Philistine Calcutta, which had raised the old fort in 1819, had now almost forgotten what the Holwell monument commemorated, supposing that it marked the site of the Black Hole. It had, therefore, no hesitation in pulling the old obelisk down in 1821. The *Calcutta*

Journal, for April 6, 1821, informs us with seeming satisfaction of this improvement. "The monument is at length taken down, and, we think, should long ago have been demolished for we can see no benefit, whatever, likely to arise from keeping alive in the minds of any one the recollection of the horrors suffered by Englishmen." On April 11 a writer signing himself Britannicus is rightly indignant at the "act of sacrilege." He compares it with the removal of the old cross at Edinburgh, and expresses a hope that the tombs of Job Charnock and Surgeon Hamilton "will not undergo a similar process of conservancy."

Old Fort William Remembered.

From this time onwards for some eighty years, Calcutta remained without even a sculpture tablet to the memory of those hundred and twenty-three Englishmen who perished faithful to their duty; and during the greater portion of that time the very site of the fort was forgotten. Well-informed writers, such as Marshman, Long, Norman Chevers and Busteed made contributions from time to time to the local journals and periodicals about the antecedents of the city; but they failed to attract much popular attention. When the new General Post Office was erected no attempt seems to have been made to record or trace out the foundations of the south-east bastion, which this building covers, and which at that time must have been completely exposed. In 1880 a proposal was made to erect a memorial tablet between two of the columns in the east verandah of the Post Office, near which it was conjectured the site of the Black Hole prison must have been. But the proposal was never carried out, a circumstance which cannot be regretted, as the site suggested was altogether wrong and the proposed tablet absolutely hideous.

In 1882 a determined attempt to fix the true site of the Black Hole prison was made by Mr. R. R. Bayne, C.E., of the East Indian Railway Company, who, in January 1883, read a paper on the subject for the Asiatic Society in Bengal. In the course of erecting the East Indian Railway Offices in Fairlie Place, Mr. Bayne came across the foundations of the whole of the north end of the fort. He carefully traced out the walls, the slopes of the north-east and north-west bastions, the staircase to the bastion, the little river gate and the central building used as the armoury, making careful notes and plans of all that he saw, and from these data, together with the accounts of the fort given in Orme and Holwell, he attempted to work out the topography of the fort. In so doing he made two altogether false assumptions. He assumed that the small plan given in Orme's history and the dimensions of the fort stated by Orme in the text were absolutely correct, still holding this belief even though he discovered that there was an error

somewhere in Orme's plan, when he tried to superpose it on Simm's *Survey of Calcutta*. He further assumed that the south-east corner of the fort exactly resembled the north-east corner, an assumption which was subsequently contradicted by the discovery of a large plan of the fort by Wells in the British Museum. With these errors in his premises it was not possible for Mr. Bayne to determine the true position of the Black Hole prison; although, as it happened, the site fixed by him was adjacent to the true site. Neither was Mr. Bayne able to determine the site of Holwell's monument. To do so, he required to fix the true position of the east gate of the fort; and in 1883 the foundations of this gate were covered with buildings which Mr. Bayne could not touch. But the investigations of Mr. Bayne excited a great deal of interest in the whole question. In the discussion which followed the reading of his paper before the Asiatic Society, Mr. Bayne gave it as his opinion that a few further excavations, costing about Rs. 300, would suffice to determine completely all that then remained unknown of the site of the Black Hole and the other parts of the old fort, an erroneous opinion, since excavations are of no use unless they are continuous, and it was impossible for him at that time to continuously follow out the lines of the eastern and southern walls of the fort. His opinion, however, was accepted by the Society; and the Government of Bengal was asked to sanction the proposal and make the required grant. Excavations were accordingly begun in 1883, and in October what was supposed to be the site of the Black Hole was opened out in the road inside the east gate of the Post Office. The excavators saw the foundation wall supporting the pillars of the verandah on this side of the fort. They also saw three other walls which they took to be the walls of the cell, the curtain wall, the inner wall containing the rooms and supporting the roof above, and one cross wall. They wrongly assumed that the other cross wall was under the Post Office building; but in fact no cross wall in that direction ever existed. The site they had discovered was not the site of the prison but of the staircase to the south of it leading to the south-east bastion.

However, the supposed site of the cell was filled in or covered with a black stone pavement; and, in 1884, a marble slab was put up over the east gate of the Post Office with the following inscription:—

"The stone pavement close to this marks the position and size of the prison cell in old Fort William known in history as the Black Hole of Calcutta."*

Mr. Bayne also fixed a tablet in the wall of the East Indian Railway Office building to mark the angle of the north-west bastion of the old fort

and proposed to place an explanatory inscription on it with an outline of the fact ; but this was never done.

Mr. Bayne at one time also proposed to erect a large marble structure with a copper dome on the Black Hole site, to fulfil the double purpose of marking the site and commemorating the victims. But he afterwards changed his mind and agreed with Dr. Busteed that the two objects should be kept separate, and that the proper site for a memorial to the victims was the spot where their bodies had been returned to the earth.

It now became of the utmost importance to discover the site of the former Holwell monument. In 1883 Mr. Bayne, taking advantage of the laying down of a ten-inch water pipe, began with a very promising excavation right across the eastern front and the eastern curtain of the old fort close to the true site of the gate. This excavation showed him the slope of the ravelin and from this he might have conjectured with approximate certainty the site of the monument. But he seems at this time to have been so possessed with the idea that the gate was further south, that he overlooked the clue thus placed in his hands.

In 1884 a series of misleading and futile excavations were carried out by Mr. Bigg-Wither in accordance with the views of Mr. Bayne, who expected to find the site of the ravelin and the monument within the railing of Dalhousie Square. After a good deal of digging a platform about 12 feet square was found, which was declared to be the site of the Holwell monument. It was obvious that so small a base could never have supported such a large obelisk ; and in 1886 further investigations were carried out, which convinced Mr. Bayne that the true site of the monument was either the site traditionally assigned to it marked by an ornamental lamp-post, or some spot just in front of it. In this same year Lord and Lady Dufferin visited the place and were shown the conjectured site of the Black Hole and Holwell monument by Dr. Busteed. The Viceroy expressed interest in the matter and seemed willing to see a suitable memorial erected. At the same time it was felt that no convincing proof had been given of the correctness of either site. Orders were given that when the lamp-post was removed to make way for the statue of Sir Ashley Eden, excavations should be made for the foundation of the Holwell monument. But shortly after both Dr. Busteed and Mr. Bayne left Calcutta, and when the statue was erected, no excavations were made and no records kept.

In 1889 an important step was taken towards clearing up the topography of the old fort. In that year Dr. Busteed and Mr. T. R. Munro seem almost simultaneously to have discovered in the British Museum a copy of a large map of old Calcutta dated 1753 on the scale of 100 feet to the inch. This map was drawn by Lieutenant Wells of the Company's artillery and

was designed to show Colonel Scott's project of a new fort ; but it also shows the old fort in great detail. To Dr. Busteed's "very unprofessional eye" this new plan seemed to agree fairly with the smaller one in Orme. But Mr. Munro at once detected serious differences. He therefore had a tracing of the plan prepared which he deposited with the Public Works Department. At the same time a photograph was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Meanwhile the question of commemorating the Black Hole and its victims had attracted the attention of Sir Steuart Bayley, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and at his request in 1890 an official note was prepared by the Chief Engineer, Mr. E. J. Martin, giving in detail the whole history of the case. Mr. Martin, at the same time, put forward a design which he had prepared as early as 1885 for a highly ornamented memorial gateway to replace the existing east gate of the Post Office, "having for its apex or covering for a time a model of Holwell's monument half full size." The Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor, however, preferred an alternative suggestion to erect a monument to the victims in St. John's Church ; and the proposal was placed before the Bishop of Calcutta for his consideration ; but it came to nothing.

It had long ago been foreseen that when excavations were made for the foundations of the new Calcutta Collectorate, important evidence would be gained as to the topography of the fort, and it was for this purpose that Mr. Munro had placed his large plan of the fort in the hands of the Public Works Department. Yet, when in 1881 the first portion of the Custom House was pulled down, and the ground opened up for laying down the main walls of the new government building, no use was made of the plan. The old walls underneath were cut to pieces and no records of their position were at first kept. At last public curiosity was excited by the discovery of a small rectangular chamber faced with hard cement standing in the midst of four large walls which looked down grimly on it. Letters appeared in the daily papers calling for someone to investigate and explain these remains.

Accordingly, in the beginning of September, 1891, having studied the Asiatic Society's photograph of the big plan of the fort and acquainted myself with its principal features and measurements, I went down to see the excavation. I almost immediately saw that the thick wall on the east side of the little chamber was the curtain wall of the fort ; while the wall to the west of it was the wall parallel to the curtain built to contain the chambers running along that side of the fort.

I next identified the remains of the east gate. The walls had been much cut away by the excavation, but enough remained to show their true nature. Moreover, on measuring the distance from the spot where these walls stood to the record stone marking the north-east angle of the fort,

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as determined by Mr. Bayne, I found that it agreed fairly well with the measurements given in the plan.

From this point onward the investigation was a mere question of time and patience. I had simply to follow out all the walls of the fort with the plan in my hands and the whole topography of the fort could be determined.

In this way I traced out the long row which divided the fort into two, the factory house, the south curtain, with the warehouse on the east side, and above all the large chambers to the south of the east gate, the southernmost of which was the Black Hole. Thus the site of the Black Hole was fixed beyond dispute, a little to the north of the position conjecturally assigned it by Bayne. And the discovery of the east gate pointed conclusively to the true site of the Holwell monument; since it appeared that the Eden statue, which replaced the old ornamental lamp-post, stood exactly in front of the gate, and therefore in all probability covered the site of the obelisk, as local tradition always said it did.

The results of my investigations, like those of Mr. Bayne, were embodied in a paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893; and in a large plan of the fort.

In 1895-96 when the old house, which used to store the Post Office records, was pulled down to make room for the new building, I was able to test the accuracy of my plan and trace out clearly the lines of the south-west bastion of the fort. This time none of the walls were cut away and excavations showed in clear unbroken continuity the line of the curtain, the slope of the bastion, the roof of the staircase with the river wall and gun platforms.

Thus from 1880 onwards a variety of proposals were put forward for the commemoration of old Fort William and the Black Hole, and it was a standing reproach to the capital of India that it has no memorial to its early martyrs. "Their neglected dust," says Dr. Busteed, "has long been silently crying out against the carelessness and thoughtless indifference which have consigned it to oblivion and disrespect. *Dum tacet clamat.*" But, as I have shown, there were good reasons why the Government and the Public should hesitate to take any definite steps. The conclusions reached by Mr. R. R. Bayne were seen to be in many important points conjectural and indecisive. Prior to 1893 the Government had not sufficient evidence before it to fix clearly the site of the Black Hole and of the Holwell monument. The evidence required for the removal of the doubts and difficulties which suggested themselves has now been produced, considered, and accepted. On February 28, 1900, a special meeting, at which Lord Curzon was present, was convened in the yard of the General Post Office by His

Excellency's order to consider the whole question. The Viceroy personally inspected the site of the old fort, specially that part of it where the Black Hole was situated. It was decided that the masive masonry gate at the east end of the Post Office should be removed so that the site of the prison might be easily visible, and that the site itself should be paved with polished black marble and enclosed with a railing, an inscription on a white marble tablet being placed on the wall above. From this spot onwards round the outline of the old fort the different features of interest were to be marked and indicated by inscribed tablets. It was also decided that the statue of Sir Ashley Eden should, with the consent of his family, be removed to another spot in Dalhousie Square, so that a replica of the Holwell monument might be erected in white marble on the site occupied by the original. These decisions are to-day (1901) taking shape in Calcutta before our eyes.

(Concluded.)

C. R. WILSON, Lit, Doc.



Bishop Wilson and the Second Earl of Clare. I.



THE following correspondence was, by the kind permission of Bishop Welldon, extracted by myself from the archives at the Bishop's Palace, and published in the now extremely scarce volumes of the *Indian Church Review* for the years 1901 and 1902. It will be seen that these letters, in themselves deeply interesting, have some importance for the close student of the economic history of British India, for their principal topic is the subject of the establishment of steam communication between this land and the home country. The story of the spread of English rule throughout the length and breadth of India has been told over and over again, but we are still in need of the historian who will record for us the development of the social and economic fortunes of the country during the last three centuries. For years to come, in the place of really scientific histories, we shall, in all probability, have to be content with lengthy and dull partisan pamphlets. While awaiting the Heaven-sent historian, much can be done in a humble way by rescuing documents from the obscurity of business or Government offices, from destruction by the white ant or still more deadly weavel, and from obliteration by the fading of the ink in which they are written. It has to be explained that the original letters, here reproduced, have disappeared, and that I have been dependent upon the letter copy books—the work of some native clerk who has clearly not paid a very reverend regard for the spelling and punctuation of the originals. With the figure of the Daniel Wilson, “Prince of Evangelicals” of Calcutta, the fifth bishop and the first metropolitan of India, the builder and benefactor of the Cathedral on our great maidan, we are one and all familiar. His letters to Lord Clare, however, reveal a side of his character which too long has been unappreciated.

The reader will perhaps require some introduction to John, second Earl of Clare, Bishop Wilson's correspondent. He was the son of a man whose memory may be regarded as infamous if we are to be influenced in our judgment by the invectives of his rival Grattan, or glorious if we are to be convinced by that vehement indictment of a whole nation—Froude's *English in Ireland*. Born near Donnybrook in the year 1749, the father of Bishop Wilson's friend was the second son of a successful barrister, John Fitzgibbon,

of Mount Shannon, County Limerick. From his days at Trinity College, Dublin, Fitzgibbon's career was one of rapid success. For years he was the spokesman of the policy of the English Government in the Irish Parliament. In 1784, the year in which Warren Hastings was spending his last whole year in India, Fitzgibbon became the Irish Attorney-General, in 1789 Lord Chancellor and Viscount Clare, and in 1795 an Earl. He was distinguished by his activities during the Rebellion of 1798. During Lord Camden's administration, he was practically entrusted with the Government of Ireland and to him belongs either the glory or the shame, which you please, of a vigorous policy of repression. His activities during the Rebellion of 1798 earned him the distinction of being more than any then living man hated by the insurgents. Even with the English statesmen whose views he represented he was, on account of his reputation for an almost savage temper and the excesses of his anti-papist bigotry, none too popular. After his duel with Curran, a wit of the times regretted :—"Unluckily they missed each other." Burke, contrasting one of Fitzgibbon's speeches with a sober utterance by the Bishop of Killala, put it that "the Bishop who had no law was the statesman, the lawyer who had no religion was the bigot." Yet Lord Cornwallis who went to Ireland, with the intention of relying on Clare no more than was absolutely necessary, declared at a later time that Clare was "by far the most moderate and right-headed man in the country." History, it may, therefore, be said, has yet to frame some sober middle judgment on the subject of the first Lord Clare's character and statesmanship. For, if he dealt out the mailed fist to the insurgents, absent Irish landlords found in Clare one ever ready to denounce them as the curse of their country. Throughout his life he evinced the completest contempt for the means which usually secure popularity. In 1798, after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, his escape from an angry mob was alone due to the cool strategy of his sister who sent the mob off in a wrong direction in search of their intended prey. His funeral in 1802 was the occasion of a public uproar in Dublin.

In the year 1786, John Fitzgibbon had married Anne, eldest daughter of R. C. Whaley, of Whaley Abbey, Co. Wicklow. The reader may perhaps remember that this lady is the subject of one of Romney's most charming portraits. Two sons were born from this marriage—John, who became second Earl in 1802 and Governor of Bombay in 1831, and Robert Hobart, who succeeded to the title on his brother's death in 1851. The only son of the third Earl fell gloriously in the charge of the Light Brigade. The title is extinct.

Some mention of Lord Byron is made in these letters : it is interesting, therefore, to note that Byron and the Second Earl of Clare were at school together at Harrow. Byron writes : "My school-friendships were with me

passions (for I was always violent), but I do not know that there is one which has endured (to be sure some have been cut short by death) till now. That with Lord Clare began the earliest, and lasted the longest—being only interrupted by distance—that I knew of. I never hear the word “Clare” without a beating of the heart even now, and I write it with the feelings of 1803-4-5, *ad infinitum*. “Leigh Hunt has not very kindly said of Lord Byron:—“The only man he professed to entertain a real friendship for was Lord Clare. I conclude that his Lordship may be excluded from the number of friends whom he ‘libelled all round.’” Moore, in his *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, alludes to “the scene which actually occurred but a few years before his (Byron’s death) in Italy—when on meeting with his friend, Lord Clare, after a long separation, he was affected almost to tears by the recollections which rushed on him.”

“If chance some well remember’d face,
Some old companion of my early race,
Advance to claim his friend with honest joy,
My eyes, my heart proclaimed me yet a boy.
The glittering scene, the fluttering groups around,
Were all forgotten when my friend was found.”

The correspondence between Bishop Wilson and the Earl of Clare, or at least as much of it as is still preserved in the episcopal archives at Calcutta, seems to have commenced with a sermon sent by the Bishop to the Earl.

PARELL, *March 18th, 1833.*

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY LORD BISHOP,—I beg to return your Lordship my best thanks for the copy of the sermon you have been so good as to send me, and I sincerely hope before I leave India, I shall have the advantage of hearing the word of God preached from the pulpit by your Lordship.

We are now building another church in the close (?) of this Island where I hope the Archdeacon will officiate. I cannot bring a third chaplain from the interior where we have only 7, to Bombay and the duty of St. Thomas’s Church in the Fort, of the Garrison of Colaba and the harbour makes it impossible either for Mr. Davis or Mr. Jeffries to officiate at the new Byculla Church. I believe the Archdeacon is quite willing to undertake it; at present, the only Church in the Island is in the Fort, and in the hot weather it is quite dreadful to drive in six miles in the forenoon to attend service. I have frequently arrived so heated, I am free to confess, I was unable to compose my thoughts as I wished during Divine Service. Since I came here two years ago, I have got two small new churches built at Deesa and Belgaum, and improved the room where we have service at Kirkee. I do not think that I was ever more distressed in my life than by attending Divine Service on ‘Xmas day in 1831 in the Canteen at Deesa smelling strong of spirits and where the soldiers had been drinking the night before. I have abated this nuisance, thank God, and built a very nice small place of worship for about Rs. 12,000. I have said

a good deal more I intended or than I have any right to say, but the subject will, I know, plead my excuse.

I have the honour to be, your Lordship's
obedient and humble servant,
CLARE.

Lord Clare's next letter deals with a matter which, but for the Bishop's tact and the Governor's good nature, might have easily become the subject of a long and heated debate. Believing that the few chaplains in Bombay were being mercilessly overworked, Lord Clare with the best intentions, but without any previous reference to ecclesiastical authority, produced a new table of Church fees. According to the arrangements which he desired to establish, fees would be charged for Baptisms on any day of the week but Sunday and one other specified day.* In his second letter to the Bishop, the Governor vigorously defends his scheme. He speaks in generous terms of the two chaplains at Poona, and of one of them, the Rev. D. Young, he writes: "I have often seen one of the clergymen, my excellent chaplain, the Rev. D. Young, who is not strong, so exhausted by all the calls made on him, I frequently fear we shall be deprived of his valuable services in India." The fees would but compel people to be reasonable in their calls upon the chaplains' ministrations, and as for the chaplains he writes: "I think it obligatory on the clergy to take fees, and so, I have informed them, at least one or two who have indirectly asked my opinion." In concluding, he refers to the appointment of Dr. Carr to the Archdeaconry:—"I hope I was the first to announce the good news to him," and offers the Bishop a warm welcome if he should desire to visit Bombay.

I trust your Lordship will visit Bombay before my departure from India: we shall be all, I assure you, delighted to see you, and I shall be most happy to co-operate with your Lordship in the support of the Church in this country. We want Chaplains really, several of our stations being still without any minister. I have officially and privately urged the necessity of sending out men both on the Court and the Board.

I have, &c.,
CLARE.

The first of Bishop Wilson's letters to Lord Clare which we have been able to find is dated "Calcutta, April 9th, 1833," and refers to the subject of Lord Clare's table of ecclesiastical fees. The Bishop, with great tact, reminds the Governor that such matters concern ecclesiastical jurisdiction and should not be arranged without previous consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities. Lord Clare's reply to this letter is dated "Malabar Point,

*It need hardly be said that the charge of a fee for the administration of Holy Baptism is a most serious violation of the Canon Law.

May 6th, 1833," and from it we learn that the table of fees had been discussed with some acrimony in the public newspapers. In a letter, dated May 24th, the Bishop returned to the subject; but as the question can scarcely be of much interest at the present day, it will suffice to quote but the concluding paragraphs of the Bishop's letter.

I grieve to hear of the paucity of the clergy in your presidency. I have written home to Mr. Grant to urge six assistant chaplains to be allowed us, to be educated and ordained in India—and also to send out such a number of chaplains as may keep up the allotted series to the full in actual service in your Bombay Presidency.

I envy you, my dear Lord, your proximity to England—only 50 days' distance! Pray, have compassion on us, exiles in Calcutta, and establish your steam communication as soon as possible. My last letter from my son at Islington (which has elected Robert Grant) was 158 days on its way, instead of 70! My daughter's marriage last December 10th will not have reached my lawyer before the present time, and the deeds will not be out here till September, whereas the steam would have brought them in 5 months or less (140) days, that is by the beginning of this month.

We have just had a most fearful storm which has done immense mischief, as we hear.

But I will not add to the already unreasonable length of this letter, except by assuring your Lordship of my earnest desire to be able to visit your beautiful Presidency, the moment prudence, duty and zeal can be made to combine in allowing it.

"Thy towers, Bombay, gleam bright, they say

Across the bright blue sea."—*Heber*.

I have the honor to subscribe myself your Lordship's

obedient humble servant,

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

Lord Clare's well-intentioned attempt to be of assistance to the over-worked clergy of his Presidency town was productive only of unhappy results. Pride forbade folk to bring their children to be baptised on the free days: parsimony grudged attendance on the days when fees would be exacted. So, without prejudice to the sound good sense of his table, Lord Clare thinks that now it had better be withdrawn. In a letter, dated June 24th, 1833, he expresses his opinion as to the reception which his efforts had received. There are "several stations in the interior where often, I grieve to say, there is little religion or semblance of religion, and where the Service are but too ready to catch at anything to attack the Church." "We have a strange race to deal with. Ask my dear and excellent friend Lord William [Bentinck] and he will tell you the same thing."

While the Bishop and the Earl were thus discussing topic of ecclesiastical fees, a subject which was soon to occupy a very more urgent place in their attention was beginning to be mooted at Calcutta. On June 14th, 1833, a public meeting had been held to discuss the sensational project of an establishment of steam communication between India and England. In the opinion of the timorous and close-sighted the times were not yet sufficiently ripe for so bold a conception. Not a few of the Calcutta business houses had

either recently failed or passed with difficulty through an exceptionally hard crisis. The meeting merely vented the idea, and no practical result seemed to have been effected. On the morning of June the 15th, the Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck), fell in with Bishop Wilson as he was taking his morning ride on the maidan, and entered into a conversation on the melancholy subject of the abortive meeting. The couple were soon joined by Charles Trevellyan, who, in a happy moment of inspiration, suggested that the Bishop should take up the matter of steam communication; the suggestion, as will be seen, proved fruitful beyond expectation.

PALACE, *Saturday, June 15th, 1833.*

TO D. MACFARLANE, ESQ.,

Chief Magistrate, &c.

DEAR SIR,—When I signed the requisition at your house for the meeting which assembled yesterday on the subject of Steam Navigation, I devoted in my mind a certain sum in aid of so great a project—the greatest of its kind ever presented, as I conceive, to a society separated fourteen thousand miles from their native shores, and which promised, by the application of one of the noblest inventions of modern science, to diminish by nearly one-half the time now consumed in the intercourse between Great Britain and India.

I presume not to interfere with the resolution of the meeting which discourages any general subscription at the present moment. I admire the delicacy of feeling from which it proceeded. I should ever yield an implicit obedience to the resolution itself, if I thought that the perfectly voluntary subscriptions of individuals would lead to expectations of large and burdensome efforts to which the public depression of affairs in this Presidency would be unequal. But I have no such apprehensions. I send you therefore my name and those of my family and the friends who happen now to be my guests. I cannot but feel, for myself, that such subscriptions, however small and inadequate to the full accomplishment of our design, will yet serve to give a greater stamp of sincerity to our signatures to the petitions, and concur in inducing the Government here and at home to take up the project when it is found we are incapable of pushing it further and to incorporate it amongst the national institutions.

Bishop of Calcutta	...	...	...	Rs. 1,000
Rev. S. Bateman	...	...	...	" 32
Mrs. Bateman	...	...	...	" 32
Rev. J. Sturrock	...	...	...	" 16
Miss Sturrock	...	...	...	" 16
Rev. C. J. Jones	...	...	...	" 10

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

In the letter of Lord Clare, to which we referred last, the subject of steam communication appears at the conclusion.

My Honourable Masters, the Court, provoke me past my patience with their apathy about steam. We have proved by four voyages how feasible the plan is, and if they will let us have four steamers of about 250 tons each and establish a steam communication by Malta and Alexandria, I will engage that in 50 days, during eight months in the year, we shall get our letters at Bombay and in 14 or 16 more you ought to receive them at Calcutta: I feel satisfied you ought to receive an answer to a letter sent overland in as short a time as your letter now takes in its voyage round the Cape to England.

Your vile *Hurkaru* newspaper (a wicked and bad paper) throws cold water on the project now afloat in India for establishing steam vessels by private subscription. I do not think the plan will ever succeed except in the hands of Government, and I wonder Mr. Grant does not insist on the Court sending us out four steamers: the present stir, however, will shame the Court, and I have addressed the Governor-General to allow this Government to subscribe. I think His Lordship in Council ought to subscribe also. I have half a mind to send your Lordship two minutes I recorded on the subject of steam communication with India. I came out overland and was detained seven weeks at Jeddah, which detention did not improve my temper at all.

I am now residing for the rains near Poona where your Lordship had better direct your letter if you do me the honour again to write to me.

I have, &c.,
CLARE.

TYTTIGHUR, BARRACKPORE,
July 11th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CLARE, BOMBAY.

MY LORD,—Your letter received yesterday quite delights me—you are so good a Churchman and so good a steamer.* On the former topic I need say nothing. I have had the pleasure of receiving the full approbation of the Governor of Madras. But something hitches with our Commander-in-Chief, what it is I know not. Our noble Governor-General, however, will carry me through. You, my Lord, shall know everything confidentially; whether good or bad, for both must be expected in this troubled state of things, when Bishops are at a discount and religion quakes for fear, and establishments are being dug up from their foundations. "The foundation of God!" however, "standeth sure," nor shall "the gates of hell prevail against it." May we be found, personally and individually, as sincere and humble believers in the Revelation in the last great Day, and all will be well.

But the steam question requires me to say two words. Lord W. has favoured me with a sight of his minute despatched to your Lordship and then sent home. If you would enclose me the two to which you refer, I should consider it a real obligation. I have been dragged rather prominently forward. The abortive first meeting Lord W. encouraged me to remedy by the letter addressed to Mr. Macfarlane. This caught like wild-fire. In one week we had 20,000 R. (and now we have about 45,000). I was in consequence put in the chair at the meeting of subscribers (170) June 22nd. All this your Lordship will see in the papers. But you will not see the difficulties I have to keep the committee (15) in good temper, good sense and good practice. I have four or five letters to write most days about it. The Governor-General thinks all the three presidencies will only be able to build part

* This is not a misprint. The Bishop styled a person who believed in the advantages of steam a "steamer."

of a boat and that we must come to Government for aid, which will not be refused. But the boat must be (so our wise men say) not 250 or 270 tons, but 400 tons, and will cost a lac and a half without engines, and then, I know not how much, to work her to Suez and back. We challenge your calculations as too low, and your expectations of profit as too high, and your joint-stock plan as altogether impracticable. Lord W.'s notion is that (1) all subscription should go (*sic*) the building at Bombay, the best boat for the purpose that can be built, then (2) the Government gives the engines of the *Hugh Lindsay*, then (3) we come again to the public, to see if we can raise money enough to work this one steamer for one twelvemonth, four times: we hope (4) that a straightforward, practical, immediate project for bringing us our letters, packets and friends, four times in 1834, in 60 days from London to Calcutta by Bombay, will inflame the public desire to the utmost height and produce copious funds. If we fail, (5) Government must supply the deficiency, and if (6) we succeed for the twelvemonth, Government must adopt the success and render it permanent. We (7) give our money for the good it may do, and never expect to see it again. If (8) it stirs up Government to adopt the plan, it will have answered in the end.

Such is Lord William's idea.

Our Committee have twenty different schemes, each surpassing the other in absurdity, and none of them coming up to the points I want to see adopted :—

- (1) The outline of a plan such as the Governor-General in Council will approve and assist.
- (2) The instant opening of the communication with Bombay, to whom the lead, for this turn, must be given and given cheerfully.
- (3) The concoction of a plan agreeable to both committees, and not disagreeable to the Supreme Government (without whose help no plan can be executed.)
- (4) The publication of that plan to get in universal subscriptions, especially small sums from the mass of residents. One gold mohur from 10 people is better than Rs. 100 from one person.

So the matter stood a week since, when lo! Captain Johnston of steam memory and fame arrives in the *Larkins*. He brings out the evidence of Mr. Peacock and himself on this great question. He is confessedly the best master of it in all its bearings. Ten years ago he published a proposal (1823) for steam passages from London to Calcutta in 60 days. He was himself the commander of the *Enterprise*, and is now sent out with the iron steam boats.

We must wait his testimony and advice. I will keep this letter open until I have seen him again, and till the meeting of the Committee to-morrow. In the meantime I may venture to predict that with three zealous Governors, we are sure of ultimate success. Your Lordship and Sir Frederick must keep the Committee at Bombay reasonable and open to conviction, and Lord W., Mr. W. H. McNaughten and I will do what we can to prevent any explosion here—not of steam—but of bile and perverseness—till the point of conjunction is hit upon and we can unite in that centre.

Yours, &c.,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA,

PALACE, CALCUTTA, *Saturday, 13th July,*

I will not detain the letter. The Committee yesterday was "all sixes and sevens," if I may so express myself. I dined with Lord W. who told me he was afraid we should become the laughing-stock of India, that these fifteen Committee men were most impracticable, that he (Lord W.) thought the proposed union of clippers and steamers was

most absurd as exposing the communications to serious delays and consequent disappointments, that a plainer case was never set before a Committee, which was (1) to act with Bombay, (2) suggesting only improvements in the plan, and (3) moulding the whole to the sort of aid which the Supreme Government would give us.

I suggested to the Governor-General that possibly the only practicable course was for our Committee to follow Madras, and cast ourselves into your bosom, relying upon the common prudence and good feeling of your gentlemen to adopt the best advice that could be offered. You shall hear almost daily from me, in that confidence which such a correspondence will demand.

The two projects before the Committee (of which I am not a member) are—

(1) Lord W.'s through me by our Secretary.

To build a boat at Bombay of 400 tons, put the *Hugh Lindsay* engines in it—make four trips in the year—resign the boat and all the concerns to the Government at the point when our funds fail.

Thus to aim not at accomplishing a permanent communication, but giving an impulse and by exciting a sense of shame the torpor of the Government.

Then to publish the outline of our plan, which would require three lacs, and gather small contributions from every soul that breathes for England and human happiness.

All this subject to the approbation of the Bombay Committee.

(2) A counter-scheme is brought forward, a smooth-tongued and able and popular barrister and sustained by a few confused heads and conceited talents :—

To place two steam-boats to ply up and down the Red Sea and there only.

To aim at once at a monthly communication.

To build two clippers for sailing between Bombay and Socotra.

This absurd scheme, aided by fine sentences and sustained by tact, has kept us at bay for three weeks.

In the meantime, Captain Johnston brings us the cheering assurance that the Admiralty will instantly send on the Malta steamers to Alexandria, whenever our boat is ready.

It will be most important, my dear Lord, for your Committee to be willing to modify their scheme, and adopt it to the views of the Governor-General who, after all, must give us much aid or we can hardly hope to succeed.

Let me have the pleasure of a line as soon as possible, and believe me that if your Lordship and I can manage our several Committees, all may come right at last.

I have the honour, &c.,

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

P.S.—Our excellent Governor-General is but indifferent, a swimming in the head has annoyed him for above two months, and he is going out to sea on Monday in the *Inglis*.

TO SIR FREDERICK ADAM, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

[After mentioning various points:]

CALCUTTA, *July 13th*, 1833.

"Where we shall be, when the New Charter comes out, what changes will be made, what will become of the Bishop and the Church, no one can tell, nor even conjecture. God will, I trust, spare our country, and preserve our Institutions, and His favour through them.

"I rejoice in the steam-prospects. I have come on board here to prevent a wreck. We have now Rs. 50,000 collected; and if we had but good sense in anything like proportion, it would be well. But Lord W. can make nothing of our 15 wise heads (ten too many

for the business) and, of course, I, who only act for the G.G. at his advice, can do less. I fear we shall be a second time the laughing-stock of India, instead of redeeming our first folly, by our subsequent vigor and common sense conduct. But, *nons verons*.

I think your excellency has done admirably at Madras—your meeting good, your speeches incomparable (Mr. Norton's one of the best I ever read) and your resolution to pour your treasures into the lap of Bombay best of all—because straightforward, unembarrassed, immediate.

CALCUTTA, *July 16th*, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR W. NORTON, BT., GOVERNOR OF CEYLON.

* * * * *

You will soon hear, dear Sir, of the attempts here to move in the steam-cause. Consider only your letter of June 22nd reaches me on July 16th, whereas it might have done so by steam in 5 days, and my answer have been delivered you July 2nd, a fortnight since. But what is this to the immense benefits of approximating England and India, annihilating 7 out of the 14 thousand miles which divide them, and opening a 60 days communication between Europe filled with knowledge, science, morals, religion, power and Asia destitute of them all?

CALCUTTA,

PALACE, *July 16th*, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—It is important for you to know exactly *where* we are, not only before, but *behind* the scenes. I write confidentially, that I may receive confidential replies. First, has your Lordship your Steam Committee "in tug:" or are they sailing by themselves? I have the hardest work to hold my 15 men together, and keep them from exploding. But at present they have not cut the cable and let me altogether drive from them.

I have one or two to dine with me alone, and so I endeavour to coax them well as I can.

Yesterday Captain (Steam) Johnstone and my chairman and secretary dined with me.

The proposal of Mr. Turton about the sailing vessels between Bombay and Socotra was condemned (1) as contrary to our fundamental engagements and (2) ineffective against calms and monsoons, and therefore defeating our whole proposal.

They hope on the next committee-day, Friday, to throw overboard this sailing project. This is the first question.

The next is, the general outline of our plan, to be transmitted to you at Bombay, and partly adopted and partly modified, as you judge right.

Our objections, as I understand, to your Bombay scheme are (1) that the steam-boat of 270 tons can never run through the contrary monsoons, which Captain Johnstone's proposed boat of 375 tons and 120 horse-power would at the rate of 3 knots in the worst gale, to say the least, and Captain Forbes, 550 tons and 180 horse-power yet more. This gives us the whole year for steaming, instead of 8 months.

(2) We object that your calculations are too low for the expenses and too high on the side of profits. More experience from our Calcutta ship-builders is conceived needful to be poured in upon you to enlighten you.

* Captain Johnston is commemorated by an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is a tablet to him on the walls of St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore. He fought at Trafalgar. He brought out the first steamer, the *Enterprise*, to make the voyage from England to India in 1825. Buckland (*Dictionary of Indian Biography*. p. 225) and Watson (*List of Inscriptions*) give a final to Johnston's name, but the final is not given on the tablet.

(3) The Joint-stock Company is a fable which we cannot understand. All civil and military servants of the Company are prohibited by Act of Parliament from engaging in Joint-stock Companies.

What we propose and conceive we can secure, is an experiment for 1, 2 or 3 years ; and then engaging the Government to take the matter out of our hands and make it permanent.

We give our rupees out and out.

A Joint-stock Company is a grand term, but inapplicable to our present circumstances and likely to deceive public expectation, and at once preventing our resigning of our boat and concern into the hands of the Government.

We shall probably have a resolution proposed formally, to agree to your plan with such modifications and improvements as to the two committees may seem expedient.

Since I began this letter, my Secretary has sent me a table of six trips in one year to be made and made easily by 160 horse-power.

I have also had a conversation of two hours with Captain Forbes. He asks : "Is there any one scientific and experienced person at Bombay who would undertake the responsibility of the vessel being well built and working well on the water ?"

The Captain seems to incline to building it in England.

A vessel of 550 tons and 160 horse-power with 13 days' coal, would make only one stop between Bombay and Suez (Maculla) and would go at a maximum speed of $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles and a medium of 7 and against the monsoon 4 or 5. This vessel would cost Rs. 1,32,000, and her annual expense would be Rs. 17,00,000. But I will write so soon as anything transpires.

In the meantime I rest on my oars.

I heard from Lord William from Kedgree on his way to the *Inglist*. His Lordship is better. God grant he may soon recover.

I am, &c.,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

To Bishop Wilson's letter, Lord Clare replies in a lengthy letter, dated Dapooree, July 5th, 1833. The incident of the "buggy-driver" is perhaps worth recording.

DAPOOREE,
July 5th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have heard from the Archdeacon of Bombay to whom I sent a copy of your Lordship's circular, and Dr. Carr does not think there is anything in it inapplicable here or at variance with our Regulations. He remarks, and I think justly, that in fixing the hours for public worship the Chaplain should consult the convenience of *both* civil and military and *their families*. When this is not properly attended to, the assembling of troops for worship is liable to partake too much of a parade. I return the copy of your Lordship's circular, not being sure that you intended that I should keep it.

If your Lordship ever reads our exceedingly dull and ill written Bombay papers, you have probably read with disgust as I read it, a blasphemous parody of scripture in the *Gazette* of the 3rd on the subject of a Garrison order I have issued prohibiting carriages entering the Church gate of the Fort of Bombay during Divine Service, that is for about

two hours in each week. At the risk of being thought tedious, I will state the circumstances which caused the order to be issued. On Good Friday last, after Divine Service was concluded, I left the Church and at the gate in my carriage and with my mounted escort I was stopped by an officer of the Garrison driving furiously in his gig. I thought this, to say the least of it, exceedingly indecent, and knowing that all Church-goers might be subjected to a similar inconvenience and probably to accidents if carriages met on the drawbridge, I resolved to examine the Garrison Orders, and I found a very old order prohibiting *native carriages* from entering the Church gate during Divine Service. I considered this a very unfair distinction, and that as the law supposes all Christians to go to Church very decorous, accordingly I have struck out of the order the word *native*, and it now applies, and in my opinion very properly, to every individual, not excepting the Governor in the Island. I have given a quarter of an hour after the commencement of Divine Service, as people are sometimes late coming to Church, and as the gate is close to it, no one is allowed to enter until the carriages of those who have been at Church have passed through: and the road is clear in five or at most ten minutes.

Your Lordship knows that our countrymen love a grievance. Accordingly though there are *two other* gates to the Fort always open, I am told this order is vexatious, tyrannical, and oppressive. The question is to be tried in the Supreme Court, and one pert lawyer informs me that he will appeal against it to the Governor-General and to the Home authorities. I am quite resolved not to subject those who go to Church to annoyance and inconvenience, because others who call themselves Christians think proper to drive about the Esplanade and Fort, when, if not at Church, they ought certainly for the sake of decency remain at home: but in truth if your Lordship knew the localities of the Fort, you would at once see there is no inconvenience whatever to anyone. The question of my right as Commander-in-Chief of the Fort to shut the Fort gates is a very serious one, and I shall not be at all sorry to have it tried in the Supreme Court. Hitherto Bombay has been considered a military Fort of great importance, and if it is, the gates form part of the fortifications, and I have undoubted control over them.

This is a terrible long story, and I hope your Lordship will excuse it, but it will show you that the Indian Society have no respect for anything connected with the decorous observance of the Sabbath, and the longer your Lordship lives in this country, the more you will be convinced of this melancholy truth.

If your Lordship happens to see Lord and Lady Wm. Bentinck, perhaps you will have the goodness to mention what I have stated to them. I think the Governor-General will tell you he has an absolute control over Fort William, and I believe by my commission I have the same over His Majesty's Fort and Castle of Bombay.

Believe me to be, &c.,
CLARE.

DAPOOREE,
July 17th, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I send your Lordship by this day's post Captain Wilson's account of his four voyages in the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer in the Red Sea. It is a valuable production at the present moment, being the result of his practical experience, and you may depend on the accuracy of his facts. I can bear testimony to the truth of all he says respecting the return voyage of the *Lindsay* in February and March 1831.

Your Calcutta papers talk nonsense when they say we must have vessels which will average seven miles an hour. They forget the voyage is 3,000 miles long. The navigation

of the Red Sea up and down, particularly down at certain seasons, is notoriously difficult : the plan is feasible, but you must not expect too much. I should say from experience we ought to be contented with an average steaming of five miles an hour. There seems to me in the Calcutta proceedings something like jealousy of Bombay, and if there is, the whole plan must fall to the ground. It is clear Bombay must be the port where the steamers are to be stationed. Your Lordship is quite right : names are as of much—perhaps more—importance than Rupees. As a private concern, it never can answer, but a general stir in India from the Bay of Bengal and Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains will be echoed home. It ought to be a Government concern, and all the apathy of the Court on the subject provokes me. I hope we shall have a long list of names from Poona. I have put down mine, a little against my conscience, as the Governor-General does not recommend the Governments to subscribe.

Believe me, &c.,

CLARE.

I am happy to say that my rights over the gates of the Fort of Bombay are respected by the Supreme Court, and the Church Gate will remain closed during Divine Service.

TITTAGHUR, NEAR CALCUTTA,

July 24th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—I must write you one line without delay, in reply to your Lordship's letter of July 5th. Assuredly our Governor has full power over his own fortress. I have asked the question of two military officers, without alluding to the reason that I had for putting the question, and the reply was that if our Governor-General, returning from Church at our Fort, had met with the interruption your Lordship has, and had in like manner ordered a particular gate to be closed, it would not only have been within his competency, but would have been considered as perfectly proper. Unfortunately Lord W. is now at sea, but I will obtain his opinion the moment of his return ; in the meantime allow me to suggest that the army regulations require the attendance of all military officers at Church and a report of non-attendance to be made—a most salutary regulation, if it could be enforced against Buggy-Driver & Co.

Every day develops something more of the steam plans. Things are moving in the Moffussil. I shall not be happy till the Presidencies harmonize in their committee-proceedings. This is what I am aiming at in ours, and have now the prospect of seeing effected, as my last letter would demonstrate.

We have some hope that Lord W. may throw in one year's lottery profits, Rs. 60,000 or so. This would be noble. The mass of India—European and native—is yet unmoved. I want to touch every individual that can afford Rs. 5 of every class from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya.

I have promised a second donation (double of my first) the instant the first steam boat starts from Bombay, that will make almost a month's salary (I have Rs. 3,592), and would only be warranted by so extraordinary a benefit, which, I place in the same order with the mariner's compass, invention of printing, &c.

I have written five sheets to Mr. Robert Grant, six to Mr. Charles [Grant], as many to the Chairman of the E. I. C., besides to three or four private individuals, to begin universal subscriptions in England, the moment Mr. Grant says it is the time, and to urge Government to adopt our design.

Good sense, good temper, a good courage, a good cause (and may I not add a good Providence prospering us) is all we need, whatever mountains of difficulties rise up against us.

I am, &c.,

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

P.S.—The last Bombay Minute seems very good indeed. Who chiefly sways there? I cannot make out the name of the place where your Lordship now is. Pray allow a clerk to put it into English. Is it Dassourie or Dapourie? and I cannot find it in the map. Wherever I am, I find Calcutta the best address.

PALACE,

Monday, July 29th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLARE, BOMBAY.

MY DEAR LORD,—Our noble Governor-General returned this morning. I was with him directly after breakfast. He is not, I am sorry to say, really well. His Lordship bids me inform you that you have the fullest power over the Fort, so as to shut all the gates, if you choose. Your Supreme Court, like ours, is an annoyance.

Our Steam Committee are coming to this conclusion that upon the most careful and economical plan, the expenses of a new boat will by far exceed our present means.

We mean to apply to the Governor-General to lend us, for three years, the *Hugh Lindsay*, just as she is.

We have funds to work her for a year at least. We must go off at once. She is not the best boat, but the best we can get with our present funds. Three years will afford time for new plans. All our united three funds will be little enough to work this one vessel. This will be a good (though not the best) beginning, certain, immediate, notorious. We must lie by during the adverse Monsoon, as your Lordship proposes.

15 2 51.

Ever your Lordship's faithful

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

MONDAY NIGHT,

Dapoorie, July 29th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have this moment had the honor to receive your Lordship's letter of the 11th and 13th of this month, and as the Calcutta post leaves this early in the morning, I will not delay writing a few lines in reply, though from indisposition I feel hardly equal to the task.

The *Hugh Lindsay* steamer's engines would never answer your purpose. They are 80 horse-power each and so expensive from the consumption of fuel, they would entirely ruin the Committee, besides as the Court have built the steamer for Government purposes, as I have received no orders to lay her up, and as all my private letters tell me "you have a steamer to send in case of emergency, and though we will not sanction others, we shall have no objection to add the establishment by private subscription of steamers" (all this comes from the Court). I dare not give up the means in my hands of sending an overland despatch with expedition home. Accordingly we have decided in Council to send coals to Maculla, Juddah, and Suez, and if necessary to despatch the *Hugh Lindsay* in the ensuing cold season with despatches. I shall certainly not send her except in a case of necessity, though I groan over the paltry economy which has obliged me to come to this determination. It is a great mistake

to suppose that the Court have ordered the voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay* to be discontinued, all that they have told us is that they do not think them with the expense.

I will certainly do what I can to keep the Bombay Committee in order, but it seems to me they are decided to have a small steamer, and as it appears to me, on good grounds, a steamer of 270 tons will be infinitely cheaper there than one of 400, I mean for the voyage, it is idle to suppose that either passengers or letters will pay one-third of the expense, and I should say that the great object of the Committee should be to get letters in two months to England and answers in two months more and *not to think of passengers*. You are probably aware that passengers to England except in the cold season are not numerous and that even then invalids, *experto crede*, cannot go by Egypt. It is a very fatiguing voyage and journey, and at best the steamer for four weeks with the smell of oil, tallow and smoke in your face (the wind is generally adverse) is a most uncomfortable vessel, and nothing could reconcile you to it except knowing that you are going fast to your destination, and that from Suez you will reach Bombay or reach Suez from Bombay in as short a time as you are generally *under the line* going round the Cape. For these reasons I have no idea that many passengers will go or return overland, and that a steamer sailing four times a year from Bombay and taking 25 passengers each voyage would probably take as many from *all India* as would be inclined to go home overland in the months of November, December, January and February. Your Lordship must remember that from March to September the heat of Egypt is intolerable and the dangers from plague very great, that the expense of the voyage will be very great—Rs. 1,000 from Bombay to Suez—forty-five guineas I know from Malta to Falmouth—add the expense of travelling across the desert (four days) from Suez to Alexandria, the cost of a few days at Alexandria, of the boat to Alexandria, of the vessel from Alexandria to Malta 800 miles, cost at Malta, and the journey from Falmouth to London, add all these charges and tell me if you think a single man could go home overland under £250 at the very lowest? Add all these reasons—and in my calculation I have omitted the India charges (no small item in the accounts) of travelling from Madras or Calcutta to Bombay to embark in the steamer, and ask your Committee how many single men from *all India* will be inclined to pay £300 at least for their passage home. Invalids and families must go round the Cape, and I cannot think that 50 men in all India will be found in a season willing to avail themselves of going by the steamer and not one-third of the number will ever think of returning in her. Depend upon it, my Lord, the Committee had better not think of passengers; and I am clearly of opinion that Captain Wilson's opinion should be adopted—for a vessel of 270 tons is the best for the purpose, because the cheapest that could be navigated.

One vessel cannot make four voyages and back in a season: two she may make and no more.

I have no idea that the plan can succeed except in the hands of Government, for I know the expense is enormous.

I believe you are quite right, the Bombay Committee in their estimate overrated the profits and under-estimated the cost. Last year we paid Rs. 20,000 *for the freight alone on the coals to the Red Sea*.

We have got between Rs. 50 and 60,000 and you, I suppose, as much, and Madras half as much. I think enough has been subscribed for the Committee, *if they will join* to order one steamer, for I feel sure the Court will assist you, but you cannot have it ready before 1835.

It is too late now to think of sending the *Hugh Lindsay*, at least I think so, for I have not written home to make any preparations to get the mail conveyed from Alexandria to Malta.

I think, and so I have told him, the Governor-General in Council ought to have subscribed, as Lord Wm. Bentinck favoured the measure; but he knows best. I was the last of the three Governors in India, as I had a conscience in lending my name to an undertaking which, unless supported by the Government, must fail.

My dear Lord, pray excuse me, I am writing a sad scrawl: it is very late, and I am very weary, but always

With great truth and respect,
Your Lordship's, &c.,
CLARE.

P.S.—I hardly think we have a supply of coals at Bombay for more than one voyage of a steamer and back. What if the Committee hired the *Hugh Lindsay* (what a vile Mercantile transaction when the measure ought to be taken up by Government on high political grounds) for two trips next year, to start in December and return by 1st February, start the middle of February and be back middle of April? There is just time to write home to invite the Malta steamer to be at Alexandria the first week in January, and the end of March, to receive our mails and bring us letters: but I really do not know if we have coals at Bombay for two trips, for the Court refused to send out the quantity we asked for. Ask Ld. William whether this would be very shabby in the Government—after all, I do not mind proposing it as I am only third clerk to a Company of Merchants.

DAPOOREE,
August 6th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I had last night the honour to receive your Lordship's letter of the 20th of July.

I rejoice to find that you have at last brought your Committee to reason: the joint-stock plan is an absurdity: every rupee subscribed should be considered a donation by the Indian community in aid of an experiment for the general good.

I have already explained to your Lordship that the *Hugh Lindsay's* engines would not answer, and that even if they would I cannot venture to dismantle and lay up the vessel without orders. There is now hardly time to communicate with the home authorities to make sure that the voyage of the Malta steamer would be prolonged to Alexandria to take our mails. If the *Hugh Lindsay* started from Bombay the middle of February, and if Mr. Grant would send on the Malta steamer to Alexandria by 10th of March, we might get papers and letters from London as late as the first week in February by the middle of April at the latest, and news through France to the beginning of March. The *Hugh Lindsay* might then start on a second trip the 20th of April at latest (the 15th would be more secure) and if she left Suez at the latest on the 8th of May and Mr. Grant allowed the April Malta steamer to take on the mails to Alexandria, we might have April letters and papers from London in Bombay by the middle of June; just in time to escape the Monsoon, at least the violence of it. I had rather however that the steamer should be back by the 7th of June, and she certainly would bring us French papers to the 20th of April. This is really bringing Europe and India together.

The objections to this plan are, first, few if any passengers will leave India for England overland so late as February, and . . . assuredly in April; next, the cost of one voyage of the *Hugh Lindsay* (Government paying officers, crew and engineers) would make a fearful hole in the purse of the Committee, and as an experiment we cannot

be quite sure that it will succeed, as all must depend on Mr. Grant's sending on the Malta steamer. We have hardly time to communicate with him, and even if he receives our communication in time to give the necessary directions, he may not be prepared to carry the into execution.

In my former letter, I talked of the *Hugh Lindsay* going in December or January, but on consideration I think that would be very unwise, as there is no possibility of communicating our intentions home in sufficient time to enable them to meet us at Alexandria.

I fear you must give up your voyage for next year, and have your vessel ready to start early in the following season : in the meantime get *all* your subscriptions *paid* instantler, or you will lose half. I am sure you will excuse this from ——— and tell Ld. William what I say.

Your Lordship's faithful, &c.,
CLARE.

DAPOOREE,
August 13th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I am living about six miles from the once famous capital of the Mahratta Empire, Pooné, from which I am separated by two rivers and only one bridge. The ladies, therefore, who do ne the honor to dine with me get colds, coughs, catarrhs, rheums, and defluxions in the boat which conveys them to their curry and champagne, and occasionally an officer (before dinner of course), wishing to show off before them, gets ducked in the river, attempting to ride into the boat on his spitted Arabian. With all these drawbacks and others perhaps, Dapoorée with its pretty garden and comfortable bungalow is a very agreeable residence during the Monsoon, as the enclosed papers, being a register of the thermometer for July, will shew ; the nights are quite cold enough for a blanket, the weather being like a wet July in England. If your Lordship will direct Pooné, or Bombay, your letters will be sure to reach their destination.

I think you will find the Bombay Committee very reasonable. I have charged them to do all in their power to meet the Calcutta brothers at least half way. I abominate lotteries and have refused my sanction to any lottery in Bombay. I am not sure though, if I could get Rs. 60,000 for the Steam Committee, if I should not be inclined to commit a little evil for the sake of a great good. This your Lordship will call lax morality ; but only think of the delight of hearing from home in 7 or 8 weeks ? Lord William will deserve well of his country, if he will throw in one year's profits of the Calcutta lottery in aid of the undertaking. They are very limp at Madras in their subscriptions. Will you send Sir F. Adam a well powdered wig for not sending you more names ? I quite agree with your Lordship : we want names full as much, perhaps more than, rupees. The Commanders-in-Chief at the three Presidencies, I see, hang back. Our Commander-in-Chief says "What do I care for steam ?" Some people are not wise.

I have written many letters to persons to (*sic*) England about steam, but they are very slow at home.

I am sorry to say rain is much wanted at this side of India ; unless rain soon comes there will be a scarcity, perhaps a famine next year. May God in His infinite mercy protect us from such a calamity.

I am happy to say my new church is opened at Bombay.

Your Lordship's faithful, &c., &c.,
CLARE.

DAPOOREE,
August 16th (26th), 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have had the honour this evening to receive your letter of the 29th of July : being directed Bombay instead of Poona, it was two days longer in reaching its destination.

I shall be very glad to lend the *Hugh Lindsay*, and Government may, I think, fairly pay the officers, engineers, and crew, leaving the Committee to defray all other charges.

The account I sent your Lordship lately will shew that they are considerable. The freight of coals, if not sent until the middle of November, would be much less than if despatched early in October. From November until February many native vessels go to the Red Sea, who would be very glad at a low charge to take the coal to its destination, but if sent in October in time for * the steamer in January Government is obliged to take a large vessel and the cost is enormous. I think we paid last year Rs. 30 a ton freight ; this however was partly owing to the vile coals sent out by the Court having, on those several occasions, ignited, and great fears were entertained for the safety of the ship which carried them. Coals are now very cheap in Bombay : I hear Rs. 10 per ton. If the Committee determine to send the *Hugh Lindsay* next season, her first voyage should not be before the middle of February. If she then started from Bombay, there is just time to communicate with England, but hardly time to be sure that the March Malta Steamer can prolong her voyage to Alexandria. If ordered there, she might be expected to arrive say the 30th of March, so that in fact the first of March would be soon enough for the *Hugh Lindsay* to start. In that case you might expect her at Bombay by the 30th of April, and if she made another voyage in May, she would leave Suez the first day of June and overtake the Monsoon before she reached Bombay the end of the month ; but as the South-West Monsoon would be in her favour, this would not be of much consequence, that is, if she reached Maculla in time to take in her coal before it begins. In February or March you will have few passengers and none, I should think, in May.

Yours, &c.,
CLARE.

I grieve to hear Lord William is unwell. Will the subscribers be satisfied to have their money expended by engaging the *Hugh Lindsay* ?

DAPOOREE,
August 17th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—By some accident your Lordship directed your letter of 16th of July to Madras instead of Bombay. I have, therefore, only this day had the honour to receive it.

I believe I have already told your Lordship that I entirely agreed in opinion with you that a Joint Stock Company was a fable, and that the Bombay Committee over-estimated the profits and under-rated the cost of the steamer, but let me assure you that at Calcutta you have no idea of the difficulty of the voyage to Suez. I have sent you Captain Wilson's pamphlet which tells you, *expe'to crede*, the truth. It is quite idle to talk of reaching Suez in fifteen days, and of going nine and ten knots an hour, and four and five against the monsoon.

* You must always allow 3 months and send coal from Bombay to Suez.

I defy the most powerful machinery to propel a vessel against the south wind from the Islands between Juddah and Babelmandel, when blowing a gale of wind : and I understand that the difficulties are as great against a north-wester in the upper part of the sea. Instead, therefore, of talking of days and of hours, I should infinitely prefer to calculate by weeks, and I would allow four weeks as an average time to convey the mails to Alexandria ; and I believe I am under the mark. You can have no idea what a tedious operation it is taking in coals, and Mr. Greenlaw in the paper you sent me seems to have totally overlooked this ; the Chief of Maculla is a barbarian, and from the last accounts from the Red Sea it would be difficult to say who has Mocha and Juddah—the Pacha, the Insurgents or the Wahabees. Our trade is there in a state of jeopardy, and I have been urged to send as soon as possible two vessels of war to protect it. From the first I have always said, and I shall continue to be after the same opinion, that unless taken up by the Government and supported with all its powers, the undertaking must fail, and that all the good to be expected from the present stir is that it will force the Home Authorities to exert themselves. I shall always regret that the Government here did not largely contribute ; and I think Lord William Bentinck was wrong as an individual to come forward, if he was not prepared as Governor-General to support it. I subscribed last of the three Governors of India, and I still think I have lent my name to an undertaking which must fail. I write confidentially, but you have encouraged me to do so.

I enclose a paper shewing the cost of your voyages of the *Hugh Lindsay*. She is a very expensive vessel ; but from the consumption of coals alone, you will see that two engines of 160 horse-power such as hers would be too costly for private speculation.

I have nothing to say to our Committee ; but they are very moderate men. I will do my best to make them humour the Calcutta Committee. Some of the finest vessels in the Royal Navy have been built at Bombay. The dock builders are excellent but expensive.

Yours, my dear Lord, with great truth and respect,
CLARE.

DAPOOREE,
August 24th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I quite agree with Your Lordship there never was such a take-in since the affair of the Quart Bottle as the Joint Stock Indian Steam Company with its plans for a profitable return of capital. I always thought so, and accordingly delayed lending my name to what I always thought a delusive.....* You may depend upon it, I will not throw obstacles in the way of lending the *Hugh Lindsay* to the Committee, nor do I think my Council will make any objection : but I have some fears that the Bombay Committee will oppose the plan. Pray, therefore, be very eloquent in its merits, when you address them. I will second all your arguments and urge them to defer to the opinion of our superiors at Calcutta. There is one consideration which will I suspect weigh with the Committee, namely, the apprehension that the subscribers at out-stations who have given their rupees to build a vessel will not consent to spend them in the hire of one. Say the cost of each trip amounts to Rs. 40,000 (it will not be less), you have funds for one trip next March, and for those in the next year possibly four. I think you cannot spend your money better.

* Undertaking ?

I am so glad I made you and Lord William laugh. This is not a lively country, and I shall be exceedingly obliged to your Lordship to make me laugh in return.

I cordially agree in all you say of the Governor-General. I really affectionate him, and do not think his merits half enough appreciated in India. He had a most difficult task to perform, and has performed it like an honest man. When large reductions are ordered, what a business it will be! I shall not envy Lord William or his successors. I am sure you are also very fond of Lady William: she has the kindest and best heart I know. Many thanks to your Lordship for your good wishes for my success at Bombay. My circle is a confined one, and I have few opportunities of doing good, but it is a real satisfaction to me to know that the Governor-General and my superiors at home are not displeased with my proceedings. Our case of Chaplains' fees is gone to your Lordship.

Your obedient, &c.,
CLARE.

If your Lordship wishes to read a dull book about Bombay, I beg to bring Sir John Malcolm's last work to your notice. It is very inaccurate.

We may digress for a moment from the correspondence with Lord Clare and insert a letter which will illustrate Bishop's Wilson's estimate of the importance of the movement with which he more than any man in India was now associated.

TO MOOHAMMAD ALAK,

CHIEF OF SUDDER AMEENS,
DEWANE ADAQULAT,
BURDWAN.

PALACE, CALCUTTA,
August 7th, 1833.

SIR,—I have the honour of receiving your letter enclosing the sum of twenty-five rupees in aid of the Steam Communication Fund. I beg to return you my best acknowledgments. The native gentlemen of India never had a more inviting occasion than the present of showing that public spirit and love of improvement which is daily more and more animating them. What is most wanted to accelerate the progress and happiness of India is the means of more rapid communication with Europe. Establish steam posts, and you annihilate 8,000 miles out of the 14,000 which divide the arts, inventions, commerce, literature, wealth, policy, religion, power of the Western world from the Eastern. Never did science make a more important discovery for humanity generally than in the application of the steam engine to the purposes of navigation. And never was the invention brought to bear upon so important and so difficult a case as that of India. A sixty days' post between Calcutta and London, periodical, regular, certain, would change gradually the whole state of things around us: it would pour the wealth and enterprise of England through all the channels of British Asia. But the difficulty is great; the expense heavy, and the first efforts have been feeble. The whole population, then, both Native and European, must be aroused. We are not as yet half awake. Small sums multiplied on all hands would soon accumulate to a great amount. The princes and distinguished native personages are nobly coming forward. The rest will follow. The civil and military officers of the Honorable Company to a man will, I trust, contribute, however small from the pressure of the times the sums may be. Prejudices will be discarded. Resolutions of not subscribing abandoned. The united committees of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay will soon devise the most practicable scheme. The beginnings will be experimental and imperfect.

But every prudent person will expect this, and bear with it. The end will compensate at length all the anxiety of the preparation. The British nation is throwing open to the natives of Hindustan places of dignity and confidence as rapidly as the state of improvement and education will allow. The Steam Communication will unite in this pursuit the two mightiest empires ever connected by a common Government, and will hasten on the amelioration and the prosperity of each. In the early ages of the world, it was Asia which poured her benefits into Europe; if in these later times Europe can return the boon by opening her geography, her history, her chronology, her natural philosophy, her astronomy, her rules of evidence, her morals, her civil and political wages, her religion to Asia, it will not be to herself that she will ascribe the praise, but to that mysterious and wonderful providence of Almighty God, which enables different regions of the globe at different periods to be the source of mutual knowledge and blessedness. Distance has divided them from each other, more especially the Oriental from the European branches. This noble Steam invention goes to bring them together again to teach them to communicate each other's advantages, and to love one another as the One Great Creator and Redeemer of them all designed. I rejoice that you, Sir, are touched with these sentiments. Our noble King William at home, the Parliament, the Ministers of State, the Honorable the East Indian Company will soon respond to your efforts and wishes. Do not then be wanting to the next age. Let it not be said that the project of establishing a bond of intercourse between India and England failed for want of liberality and patriotism in the 124 millions of people who were to be benefited by it. But I have said too much: for I am assured that what has been so magnificently begun will not be relinquished till it be fully and happily accomplished.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

P.S.—It may be pleasing to you to know that you are the *first* of the principal Sudder Ameens that has answered the circular letter—a harbinger, I trust, of the numerous letters which are soon to follow from every part of India.

PALACE, CALCUTTA,

August 31st, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am certain it will be all right. Your lordship's tirade against giving up the engines of the *Hugh Lindsay* made our noble G.-G. and myself laugh heartily. We had happily changed our plan before your indignation at it reached Calcutta. To dismantle a fine vessel is one thing; but to lend her for a great national design is another. Now the funds raisable in India will never compass the building even of a hull of a new vessel, so as to leave us the means of working her. Two and two do not make five, much less six. We have not yet got 1¼ lacs: we shall want 4 or 5 lacs *to work a vessel merely for 3 years*. This seems then our practical wisdom. Let us come to Government and humbly implore the loan of this, not perfect, but good and adequate vessel, on condition (1) of our keeping her unhurt and unchanged, (2) repairing her from time to time, (3) insuring her, (4) returning her to your Lordship at a moment's warning if demanded, (5) placing her annually at your disposal during the Red Sea impracticable Monsoon, (6) resigning her finally on our building a vessel or making arrangements for carrying on the communication, or, at all events, at the end of three years.

To such a proposal I should hope your Lordship, the Bombay Council, and your Steam Committee would rejoice to accede.

It has these recommendations. It is immediate, practicable, straightforward—effective to a good extent.

Then it is not inconsistent with Captain Wilson's scheme (whose pamphlet is admirable,) for the moment our funds arise above high-water mark, we build at Bombay, or in England, as fast as we can.

Further, it postpones and gently lets down the joint-stock fancies which grievously scandalize the Governor-General and all our Calcutta friends. I am not master of the subject (Bishops are not bound to go beyond religion, morals, humanity and science, and it would be well if all Bishops were thoroughly acquainted with these), but (1) I understood the covenanted servants of E.I.C. cannot belong to such a company for joint-stock profits. (2) I understand it is holding out a delusion. (3) I understand it as involving endless litigation. (4) I understand the responsibilities of each individual subscriber are fearful because undefined. (5) I understand that the transferring of our vessels, if we build any hereafter, to Government and private merchants would be difficult. (6) I understand that it would be wiser to return the subscriptions of those who should decline giving absolutely to the Committee at Bombay the disposal of their money, than the attempt to persevere in the Joint-Stock Association.

Such are the objections—not mine, but Lord William's and the longest heads here.

However a postponement of these visions of future wealth would follow of course upon the borrowing of a vessel.

I trust our honourable Governor-General's health will speedily be restored by the sailing trip to Madras which he meditates. If ever a nobleman deserved well of his country in the most arduous and responsible of offices, it is Lord William Bentinck. May your Lordship have equal happiness in reflecting upon the measures of your administration at Bombay.

I have the honour, &c.,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

PALACE, CALCUTTA,
August 19th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—I must write a line to say that Lord William was much amused with your Lordship's postscript. We are now in some dilemma what to do. Our application to the Governor-General for the *Hugh Lindsay* goes in to-morrow, though I have privately intimated to our Chairman and Secretary that it *might* fail, as objections were made at Bombay to the proposal. We have requested our Governor-General if he declines our request, to suggest in what way he will aid us.

Lord William now talks of giving the engines of the *Enterprise* (120 horse-power) and letting our threefold funds go to the building at Bombay, or procuring from England the most suitable new vessel. His Lordship thinks that he might feel at liberty to work it, for we shall have not a rupee left, if we build and prepare for sea. Observe *that*, I pray you. Our 1,60,000 Rs. will not turn out more than 1,20,000 realised. And what can that sum or double that sum effect?

We are absolutely powerless, prostrate, imbecile, and wholly at the mercy of Governments here and at home. The vapouring of our Calcutta Committee, or your Bombay

one of what they will do is childish. We can do nothing—absolutely nothing without the Governments.

In the meanwhile, I am keeping my 15 heroes in good humour, as far as I can. Your Committee's reply to us was conciliatory, but ought to have been despatched a month earlier.

Your Lordship shall hear as often as anything occurs.

But who can close a letter now, without just saying that on Saturday (after 140 days) news came from England from March 30th to April 20th—full of confusion worse confounded—Government weak—Parliament impracticable—Ireland tossed with agitation—the Church, Christianity, the object of scorn and insult, etc. Then where is your East India and West India question?

However, there is a God in heaven and a Saviour who rules all worlds, and a Providence never failing in its means. Let us in patience, then possess our souls, and all will be well.

Our noble friend, the Governor-General is increasing daily in strength and health.

I have, &c.,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

A letter addressed by the Bishop to Lord Clare on August 22, 1833, has not been preserved. It not being our object to deal with the subject of steam communication any further than the present correspondence requires, we must refrain from printing here some letters of importance which at this date passed between the Bishop and Robert Grant in England and Sir F. Adam at Madras.

PALACE, CALCUTTA,
August 24th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—Your list of expenses frightens us and yet amuses Lord William,—it is so extravagant, unnecessary, etc., etc.*

His Lordship has at last determined to give at least one trip of the *Hugh Lindsay* absolutely free, in order to allow time for our further subscriptions, arrangements, applications to England, etc. Excellent!

In haste,
Your most, &c.,
DANIEL WILSON.

DAPOOREE,
September 11th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I write a few lines to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 22nd and 24th of August. I wrote to Sir H. Compton to prepare the Committee for the Calcutta proposal and to support it strenuously, and I yesterday informed him of the magnificent intention of the Governor-General. He, Lord William, is a dear and good

* The list has evidently been lost. It would seem that Bombay-brewed champagne and pickled salmon were considerable items.

man, and what a glorious termination to his career to be appointed Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor-General. My heart warms when I think of Lord William Bentinck.

Your Lordship is quite right, the expenses are extravagant. I reduced the table charges, having objected to Wright's champagne and Martinique liqueurs made in Bombay, and I said that I considered pickled salmon at dinner every day on board the steamer, dear and unwholesome. The freight on coals is the great expense: it is owing to two causes, first, we send them to Suez in October and November, and are then obliged to have a large vessel to take them. In December and January native crafts would take them cheaper; the freight on the coals for the last voyage amounted to Rs. 24,000.

The second cause is the *repeated ignition* of the coals which *the Court* send out of a *bad* quality, and the risk of taking them being great, the owners of the vessels charge dear for freight.

I suppose the steamer should start on the 1st of February at latest.

Yours, &c.,
CLARE.

The next letter, addressed by the Bishop to Lord Clare, dated September 12, 1833, is of more official tone, and deals with the subject of the unpopular Baptismal fees, for the abolition of which the Bombay chaplains had petitioned. The letter in which the Bishop announced to Lord Clare the grateful tidings of the unexpected appointment of Bishops for Bombay and Madras has not been preserved.

DAPOOREE,
September 26th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD,—I merely write a few lines to inform you that I yesterday received the Governor-General's official steam letter, that I immediately returned it to Bombay strongly recommending the Board to lend the *Hugh Lindsay* on the terms suggested by his Lordship. I do not anticipate any objection, and I fully expect that it will be decided by Council to-morrow as we both wish, and the Bombay Steam Committee will, I presume, accept the offer readily. So, my dear Lord, I may congratulate *you* on *your* success, for you have carried through for India and for England this very difficult business. I say carried through, for the India House and Board cannot now turn a deaf ear to our case. The only alteration which I hope they will make will be to order the Supreme Government to establish the communication by steam between the two countries. It should be a Government measure and not left in private hands and supported by the Government. I apprehend the steamer should make her first trip on the first day of next February. There will hardly be time for another before the monsoon, but the Committee must arrange all this. I find that Mr. Martin, the resident at Indore, wants a cabin in the *Hugh Lindsay*, and being a Bengal civilian of high rank, I have desired the best to be kept for him. I do not find how the Committee will provide for the proportion of accommodation to be divided between the two Presidencies. I believe applicants had better take their chance: only nine passengers can be tolerably accommodated. There are three small cabins and one large one called, I believe, the cuddy.

Will you tell Lady William my next letter shall be copper-plate. Is not this, my dear Lord, a beautiful specimen of calligraphy (one / two many I believe)? All my *i's* are dotted

and all my *t's* crossed. Lady William's lecture made me take pains with it. I hope your Lordship is not tormented with headaches as I am.

Your faithful servant,
CLARE.

MALCOLM [WORD ILLEGIBLE]*
October 22nd, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I am terribly afraid there will be some confusion about this voyage of the *Hugh Lindsay*.

You sent me a copy of your letter to Mr. Grant, dated the 22nd of August, which you said left Calcutta in a fast sailing ship, *the Arab*, on that day. In that letter you informed our excellent friend that the Lords of the East, Ecclesiastical and Civil (I always put the Church before the State) *counted* on the February Malta steamer being at Alexandria on the 10th of March, and you further told him that our mails should reach Alexandria on or before that time.

Accordingly I thought all settled and clearly understood, and being pressed for the convenience of the public to name the day for the departure of the *Hugh Lindsay*, fixed the 1st of February. A notification accordingly was published in the Government Gazette and many passages I believe are taken.

It now appears by an official letter before me that my Lord and Master at Calcutta desires the voyage to be deferred until the 1st of March for sundry good reasons communicated, and I am sadly at a loss to know what should be done.

Let me first say I wish to do what is agreeable to the Governor-General and to your Lordship, and to stand well in the opinion of Messrs. Greenlaw & Co., but we have a Steam Committee at Bombay and a community besides at this side of India who will not like, I fear, the voyage to be deferred.

The Bombay Committee must be consulted: if they agree the voyage must be deferred at once until the 1st of March. If they do not agree, we are bound not to come to a final decision without a further reference to Calcutta to which a reply may be received early in December. There are objections to deferring the voyage until the first of March.

First. We shall disappoint all those who on the faith of the Government notification have taken their passages and who expect to leave Bombay on the 1st of February.

Secondly. No one, I believe, will go in March. The heat in Egypt being intense in April and the climate unhealthy, and as this is the plague year (about once in four years). If plague is there it always breaks out at the beginning of the hot weather, and it would be very sad if we sent our officers, Civil and Military, to plead the cause of steam in England covered with blains and blotches.

Thirdly. If C. Grant receives your letter of the 22nd of August in time, and sends on the Malta February steamer, they will all be furious at home if our mails are not, as *promised* in your letter, at Alexandria by the 14th of March.

The advantages, on the other hand, of deferring the voyage from Bombay until the 1st of March are fully stated in the papers from Calcutta.

Now what does your Lordship recommend?

I would send the *Hugh Lindsay* as announced from Bombay, and I would direct *Captain Caird, if he finds the voyage of the February Malta steamer has been extended to

Alexandria, to return directly with the Indian packets, but if he finds that she has not, to wait at Suez all March, and to bring back the despatches which it may reasonably be supposed Mr. Grant will send by the March Malta steamer.

There are objections to detaining the *Hugh Lindsay* at Suez all March, but I think on the whole they are of less weight than if we run the risk of (C. Grant acting on your letter) letters arriving by the Malta February steamer at Alexandria and being detained there for five or six weeks.

This is the substance of what I have this day stated in a minute to Council, and I have left the decision to the Board after a communication with our Steam Committee who must be put into a good humour.

Lord William's despatches will be sent to Suez on the *Nautilus* on the 6th of November. I do not think that she can reach Suez under two months at lowest, and, taking into consideration the delay in forwarding despatches from Alexandria to London, I do not think C. Grant can receive them either *via* Marseilles or *via* Malta before the middle of February. By the way, the duplicate despatch to be sent *via* Marseilles has *not* been forwarded *per* Calcutta.

There is one other contingency to be provided for.

Supposing C. Grant on the receipt of your August letter extends the voyage of the *Malta* February steamer on the receipt of these despatches, what should in that case be done? Would you have the *Hugh Lindsay* under any circumstances wait all March at Suez? Ask Lord William and pray excuse this long scrawl for the sake of the object we have in view.

Your faithful servant,
CLARE.

Please direct Bombay.

The Bishop's letters referred to (October 12th and 14th) in the following letter have not been preserved at Calcutta. It will be seen that, much to Lord Clare's indignation, the Calcutta Steam Committee were about to abandon the *Hugh Lindsay* scheme and make Calcutta the starting point for the mail steamers.

PARELL,
November 14th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD,—I have had the pleasure to receive your two agreeable letters of the 12th and 24th October, and I cannot say how much flattered I feel to be told that you like my scribbles. I always write what comes uppermost, and as I cannot have the pleasure of communicating with your Lordship *viva voce*, it is a real pleasure to me to be allowed to talk to you on paper.

We have a queer set to deal with in this country, and the longer I remain in India, the queerer I think them. The real truth is, though full of talent and local knowledge, the larger portion of the Indian world knows nothing beyond the confined circle in which they have moved since they left Haileybury and Addiscombe.

I never saw the answer of the Bombay Committee until I saw it in the *Hurkam* (?) The great mistake they have made is that they will cling to the expectation that they can, I mean all India, establish a steam communication with what they have and still may collect. I tried by letter to persuade several of the leading stars of Bombay that by accepting frankly and at once the Calcutta plans, the object was in fact accomplished, for it must end in the whole business being at last thrown upon Government. I find there is a

strong feeling of doubt in Bombay respecting the instructions of the Court. They say that they will throw over the Governor-General and that in the meantime all private funds will be expended. I think this is a very narrow view of the subject, and, as I have always said, I thought except in the hands of the Government the undertaking must fail, I am of opinion that Governor-General's offer, frankly and cordially accepted and supported by *all India*, gave us the only chance of ultimate success. This I have said to every one, and this I will try to impress on every one here who has influence with the Committee. Mr. Greenlaw has done a world of mischief by his absurd proposal about Galle, and it is to me quite evident the Dii Minores of Bombay think the Dii Majores at Calcutta are determined that Bombay should not be the starting point. I fear in great and small matters there is a strong feeling of jealousy between the two presidencies. If the steamer starts in December, or even January, I should much wish that some Bengal officers should go in her *to report the real difficulties from personal observation* of ascending the Red Sea against a North-Wester and beating down it against a southerly storm. In March or April the navigation is comparatively easy.

I am very glad you are reading Byron's Life, and let me pray you to think charitably of my poor departed friend. He wrote much and did much which, as a Christian, you must condemn, but he had a heart and was cruelly tried. Peace be with his ashes. I trust that he is now reposing in the bosom of his Saviour and his God, for I will never believe that with such a mind he left this world an impenitent sinner. Will you look at page 59, first volume, and you will read an absurd letter of mine to him, and then in page 50 read Byron's amiable remark on it.

I returned to Bombay the day before yesterday from the Hills. I find it awfully hot, but, as it has been raining all day, the air is rather cooler. Colonel Pasmore told me yesterday the climate is better than Calcutta. Our cold season is approaching.

I have no letters of a later date than the 11th of June, and no print of the Indian Bill has as yet reached Bombay. What niggards my masters are to think of paying the new Bishops so ill.* I should not like at all being a Lieutenant-Governor, but I shall not remain long after the change.

Your Lordship's, &c.,
CLARE.

PARELL,
November 26th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I am very low and unhappy, having received most distressing accounts from England. I cannot therefore do much more than thank your Lordship for your three letters on steam lately received. The Calcutta Committee seem to me to have behaved as ill as possible. From the beginning they evinced a petty jealousy of Bombay which is truly ridiculous, and they now, it appears, imagine the Home authorities will sanction their wild scheme. I call it wild, first, because I believe it will turn out so expensive, it must end, if attempted, in ruining the concern. In Leadenhall Street, in Cannon Row, and at Liverpool, depend upon it, they will see through it all, and the result, I fear, will be that our masters, disliking the job, will say, you are not united, and until you are, and have proved the success of the plan you propose, we will have nothing to say to it.

From Bombay to Suez is *proved* feasible, and it is just possible that the Court might have sanctioned the Governor-General's original proposition, but as Lord William

* The Sees of Madras and Bombay were created in 1833.

has now broken new ground it will fail. I shall certainly both officially, if addressed on the subject, and privately oppose the Calcutta plan, and let both C. Grant and the Chairs know the real state of the case. I am also writing to a mercantile acquaintance at Liverpool, and in the event of the question coming before the merchants there, I will tell them after a practical experience of four years what is the opinion of practical men at this side of India, but our best arguments for making Calcutta the starting point for steam communication between Suez and India will, I imagine, strike them as preposterous. The Capital of India will, I feel satisfied, receive a land communication, *viz.*, Bombay, quicker than by any other channel of communication, and the whole of Upper and Central India and Madras also. This seems to have escaped the attention of the Calcutta steamers.

I asked Captain Wilson yesterday what he thought of the plan. He said if two of the best adapted steamers were to run from Calcutta to Galle to Socotra and Suez they might possibly last two years at a vast expense of wear and tear, but if it shall be attempted by the *Forbes*, it must fail. Our Committee told *the truth*. Your Committee are angry and do not condescend a reply. This Government told Lord William officially one vessel could not make four trips in the year and requested he would if possible send round another vessel. No answer yet; why not all this time? Send here the *Forbes* and *begin with her and the Hugh Lindsay the 1st of next October a regular steam communication between Bombay and Suez*. If this is not done, the whole will fail. The sanction of the Home authorities once obtained, let it be Bombay and Suez, or Suez and Socotra with branch steamers to Bombay and Calcutta (this will be very costly) as the authorities here shall decide. The Calcutta gentry, Mr. Secretary McNaghten and Mr. Secretary Greenlaw, totally forget that this Government is the only Government in India which has any practical experience, the only one which has expended money in the undertaking, and the only one which has proved its success. They also forget that the late plan originated with Bombay, and that they are bound to consider this side of India. The Governor-General may put his foot on them at once, but if he supports them, we shall oppose them, and the steam communication of India will totally fail. This will be apples and nuts to those who oppose the undertaking at home. I wish Lord William could, *on the part of the Government*, take it up. In his hands I will do all I can to second his plan, whatever it may be, but I will oppose as strongly as I can Messrs. Greenlaw, McNaghten & Co.

I shall advise our Committee under any circumstances to expend their funds in two trips of the *Hugh Lindsay* next year beginning in October: and I shall urge the Home authorities to extend the voyages of the Malta steamer in aid of the established communication direct between Bombay and Suez.

Writing this letter has done me good, for though I do not care to pen personally whether the communication is established *via* Calcutta or *via* Bombay, the good cause which I have long advocated, which I see tottering from Calcutta jealousy of Bombay, has excited me and made me forget my misfortunes.

Yours, &c.,
CLARE.

BISHOP'S PALACE,
December 3rd, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CLARE.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your Lordship's most amusing and instructive letter alarms me about the temper of the Bombay Committee. I lamented the pamphlet of Mr.

BENGAL : PAST & PRESENT.

(JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

PRICE, RS. 2-8.

TO BE HAD OF THE PUBLISHERS, 300, BOWBAZAR STREET, MESSRS.
W. NEWMAN & CO., DALHOUSIE SQUARE. MESSRS. THACKER,
SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, OR THE HONORARY
SECRETARY, 36, ELGIN ROAD, CALCUTTA.

VOL. I.

JANUARY, 1908.

No. 1.

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PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS BY W. E. P. HUME AND PUBLISHED BY THE
CALCUTTA GENERAL PRINTING COMPANY, AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS,
300, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA.

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Daniel Wilson.
5th Bishop of Caelutta: First Metropolitan of
India and Ceylon.
(By the courtesy of the Cathedral Chaplains).

Greenlaw, because of the time when it appeared, and because we all intended most honestly and heartily (from the Governor-General to the Secretary) to make Bombay the starting point. If you had given us your confidence, we should have worked the Bombay scheme and none other, be assured. Lord William told me this, this very morning. However, the perverseness of the Bombay gentry has been the occasion of an immense benefit to India.

A more extended plan is now adopted. We have the best grounds for believing that the voyage from Calcutta to Suez may be speedily made at all seasons, and, by altering our port from Bombay to Calcutta there can be no question that the convenience of infinitely the greatest part of India will best be consulted. I cannot perceive, nor do I believe in, the existence of any petty jealousy here. Such feelings on our part, I believe, are unknown. We have only committed the fault of professing a feasible and enlarged plan, when our first project was rendered impracticable by the Bombay refusal to an imperfect one.

Your Lordship will see that our Governor-General has thought it right to disclaim that his proposal home will be acceded to by the authorities in Leadenhall Street and Cannon Row (what beautifully practical names). This was considered expedient by the coincidence of the *Edinburgh Review* (by the pen of T. B. Macaulay)* recommended the very plan which our Governor-General himself proposed. But I conceive the moral certainty of the money being cheerfully paid remains undoubted. I know the Governor-General has no distrust.

Our weather here is as warm as at Bombay. My thermometer stands at $74\frac{1}{2}$ at quarter past one at noon, in my study where I am writing, and have not seen it lower than 71.

We have no arrivals. Even Mr. Grant's speech of June 13th has never come in an authentic form. Some important despatches about rupees are known by the merchants to have been despatched at the end of July, but no tidings of them. We must have steam. Our Governor-General has fixed the postage from Calcutta to Suez at 1 R. a letter.

I have not time to-day to enter on the chapter of Lord Byron, and I should almost scruple to do it with the tender feelings which do you so much honour. I remember well giving up reading Lord B.'s publication after Corraen—I think it has convinced me that there was a regular scorn of Revelation, a delight in adorning vice with the engaging qualities which virtue only can produce, and a display of indignant rebellious passion bursting all bonds and fetters. But his life I had never read, till this relaxing indolent climate reduced me to take it up when I could attend to nothing else. I have gone through about half, with extraordinary admiration of his genius and conviction of his many pleasing qualities. Moore has also changed my mind about Lady B. who seems altogether to have mistaken the manner of treating him. Of Lord Byron's penitence I see no evidence, though of course I deny not the fact. May our repentance, our faith, our change of heart and life, our observation of the Lord's day, our general propriety and purity of conduct, and our aim of advancing the honour of Almighty God leave no doubt as to our genuine Christian character. Excuse, my dear Lord, this homily and believe me,

Your most affectionate and faithful,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

* The article does not appear in the collected edition of Macaulay's Works. In the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1833, there is a review of Captain C. F. Mead's *Eastern and Egyptian Scenery, Ruins, etc., accompanied with Descriptive Notes, Maps, Plans, intended to show the advantage and practicability of steam navigation from England to India.*

PARELL,
November 30th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—Our Steam Committee sent in the day before yesterday a most proper letter to the Government, written in a tone of mildness and demonstrating clearly that any disunion or division of the funds will be fatal to the undertaking. From their letter to Calcutta it is quite manifest that there has been no secession on the part of the Bombay Committee, and if Messrs. McNaghten and Greenlaw err, they shall not throw the blame on us.

Assuming that the original plan of the Governor-General's four trips in the year was a good one, not a word has been said from hence which should induce his Lordship to throw us over; on the contrary, we, the Government and the Steam Committee, have evinced the greatest desire to meet his views, and to second with promptitude all he has suggested. The Admiral, who is here, laughs at the idea of the Galle and Socotra scheme, and says that the navigation of the Bay of Bengal is at certain seasons, as he well knows, very difficult. I wish you could persuade your Committee they have no *practical* knowledge, and that all the practical experience of the means of bringing the undertaking to a successful issue is at this side of India. I to my cost have experienced the North-Western or the Southerly storms in the Red Sea, and I should tremble for the fate of any steam vessel, which after having bad weather in the Bay of Bengal, round Ceylon and on to Socotra (all very probable), would then have to encounter a South-Wester all the way up to Suez—12,000 miles, and beat down the sea against a southerly storm. No machinery could stand it. So I think we shall address Lord William, shortly, adhering to the original plan.

Yours, My dear Lord, faithfully,
CLARE.

(To be concluded.)

W. K. F



India Intra and Extra Gangem.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.



DEAR SIR,—In a library in an old country-house, I recently came across an old folio, of more than 1,000 pages, entitled “Cosmographie, in Four Bookes, containing the Chronographie and Historie of the whole World, and all the principall Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas, and Isles thereof,” by Peter Heyleyn: London, 1652. (Copies of the second edition of 1657, and of a later edition of 1682 are in the Calcutta Imperial Library: *Catalogue*, page 327.) In 34 large pages of the Third Book an account of India is given, divided by the writer into (1) *India Intra Gangem*, and (2) *India Extra Gangem*.

Members of the Calcutta Historical Society, and readers of your Journal, may be interested to see what was written of Bengal so long ago as 1652—when the Factory at Hughli and an Agency at Patna were being established—nearly 40 years before Job Charnock finally settled at the site of Calcutta. As the account of the 15 Provinces, into which the writer divides India, is too long to quote, I have copied out only the portions relating to the Provinces of Oristan, Botanter, Patanaw, and Bengala, besides some smaller extracts connected therewith.

Yours very truly,

C. E. BUCKLAND, I.C.S. (*retd.*),

61, CORNWALL GARDENS, S. KENSINGTON, S. W.

27th September 1907.

Ganges, which riseth as some say from the Mountain *Imaus* (or rather from that part of *Taurus*, where *Imaus* falleth right upon it), and falling headlong down the Rocks, is first collected into a Lake, or Pool (supposed by others for the fountain and original of it) whence, with a gentler pace, it passeth towards the Ocean; taking in by the way, as is said by *Pliny*, 30 navigable Rivers. In the narrowest place of eight miles breadth in the broadest 20, seldome so shallow but that the depth thereof is 100 feet, or 20 *Geometrical* paces. Parted into 5 great Channels it falleth at last into the Sea; the first of which most towards the West, is called *Cambysum*, (2) *Magnum*, (3) *Camberychum*, (4) *Pseudostomum*, and (5) that which lyeth furthest towards the East called *Antiboli*. This River, erroneously supposed to be that *Pison* which watered *Paradise*; and to encrease the reputation of the error, we find it countenanced by *Josephus*, and other no less eminent names; and also backed

by some traditions of the people which inhabit neer it. By whom it is assumed that one of the *Bengalan* Kings sent men up the River, who came at last to a pleasant place, blest with a fragrant Earth, sweet air, and quiet waters; beyond which they could go no further. The truth and reality whereof doth so possess them, that at the mouth of this River called *Gangasagie*, such as are weary of this world use to cast themselves into the current, and are presently devoured by a fish called *Sea-dogs*, by whom they hope to find a quick passage to *Paradise*. The occasion of which error among the antients proceeded from those words of the Scripture, in which it is affirmed of *Pison*, that it compassed the land of *Havilah*: which granting that it did, inferreth not that either this river must be *Pison*, or that *India* is intended by that *Havilah*. For besides *Havilah* the sonne of *Jocktan*, planted in some part of *India*; there was another *Havilah*, the sonne of *Chus*, settled in the land of *Havilah* or *Chusiana*, not far from *Babylon*: this last indeed watered by the River *Pison*, and the first by *Ganges*; too farr asunder, and divided by too many Nations, to be taken or mistaken one for another. But not less famous, because none of those which neighboured the garden of *Eden*: perhaps of greater fame than any of those which did. For to this river do the superstitious *Indians* make their solemn Pilgrimages, vainly conceiving that they shall be sure of their eternity, if at the time of their death they may drink of this water. To the overflowings of this River do the people ascribe the fertility of the countreys adjoining as the *Ægyptians* do to *Nilus*. And finally, by this River was the whole countrey antiently, and at this present is, divided into two main parts (each subdivided into many particular Provinces), viz.: 1. *India Intra Gangem*. 2. *India Extra Gangem*. Of each of which we will first take a brief survey with reference to the state and story of it in preceding times; and then consider them with reference to the present age.

India Intra Gangem, is bounded on the East, with the river Ganges till the fall thereof into the Sea, and after that with that large and spacious Bay, called antiently *Sinus Gangeticus*, now the Gulf of *Bengala*: on the West, with *Paropamisus*, *Arachosia*, *Gedrosia*, Provinces of the *Persian* Empire; and part of the *Arabian* Seas: on the North, where it is broadest, with Mount *Taurus*, branched into *Paropamisus*, *Caucasus*, and other parts; and on the South, where it endeth in a sharp point or Promontory, by Ptolemy called *Commaria Extrema*, but now Cape *Commari*, with the Indian Ocean. So named from being situate on this side of Ganges; by the moderns, *Industan*.

ORISTAN.

Oristan or *Orixa*, is bounded on the South, with *Narsinga*; on the West, with *Delly* and *Mandao*; on the North, with the Kingdomes of *Botanter*; on

the East, with the Golf of *Bengala*, and part of *Patanaw* or *Patane*; so called from *Orissa*, the chief city of it.

The countrey hath plenty of rice, cloth of cotton, and a fine stuff like silk, made of grass, and there called *Verva*; with which, together with *Long Pepper*, Ginger, *Mirabolins*, and other commodities here growing, they use to load 25 or 30 ships from the Haven of *Orissa* only. The people so well governed or so hating theft, that in the time of their own Kings, before they came under the *Moguls*, a man might have travelled with gold in his hand without any danger. In other points of the same temper and religion with the rest of the *Indians* subject to that Prince.

It is generally well watered, and interlaced with many Rivers, which do much moisten and refresh it, but none so beneficial to the Kings hereof, as the River *Guangen* (of old called *Chaberis*) the waters whereof esteemed sacred by the Kings of *Calicute* and *Narsinga* and much used by them in their sacrifices and superstitious purgations, are wholly ingrossed by this King, who selleth them to those Princes at excessive rates. Besides which Rivers it is watered with a fair Sea-coast, of 350 miles in length; that is to say, from Cape *Guadarino* in the South, which divides it from the realm of *Narsinga*; o Cape *Leogord* in the East, which parts it from *Bengala*. But for all that not very much traded, because not so well provided of commodious Havens, as many other *Indian* Provinces of a far less Territory.

Towns of most note herein: 1. *Orissa*, on the Sea-side, or not far from it, the best traded Port of all this Kingdome; to which the name thereof is to be ascribed, as the head-city of the countrey. 2. *Catecha*, six daies journey within the land, the ordinary residence of their Kings, before it was subdued by the *Great Moguls*. 3. *Angeli*, a well-frequented Port, at the bottom of the Golf of *Bengala*, from whence many ships are yearly laden with *Indian* wares. 4. *Bacolli*, or *Bacola*, more within the land, and once the head-city of a Kingdome, but a very poor one. 5. *Simergan*, where they held it an impiety to eat flesh, or kill any beast. 6. *Senerpate*, of which little memorable. Nor do I find anything which deserves much memory in the affairs of this Kingdome; but that the Kings hereof were *Gentiles*, subdued not many years since by the K. of *Patanaw*: and both, grown weaker by that war, by *Echebar*, the *Great Mogul*.

BOTANTER.

BOTANTER (under which name I comprehend all those petit Kingdomes which are crowded together in the North and North-East of this part of *India*) hath on the South, *Oristan* and *Patanaw*; on the West, the River *Guenga* or *Chaberis*, by which parted from the realms of *Sanga*; on the North, the *Zagathian Tartars*, divided from it by some branches of Mount *Taurus*; on

the East, the famous river *Ganges*. So called from *Bottia*, the principall city of *Botanter*, which is the chief of these small Kingdomes.

The countrey great, of three moneths journey in extent, full of high Mountains, one of which may be seen five dayes journey off, in which are said to dwell a people with ears of a span long or more, whom otherwise those of the Valleys count as *Apes*. In those parts which are next *Sanga*, they are white and *Gentiles*; in others more enclined to the *Olive* colour. Their garments they wear close to their bodies, so streight that one cannot see a pleit or wrinkle; and those they never put off by night nor day, whilst they are able to hang on: nor do they wash at any time, for fear of defiling so pure a creature as the water. Content with one wife (deservedly to be held a miracle in these Eastern parts) and yet *cohabit* not with her after two or three children. When any of them dy, the *Sooth-sayer* is to tell them what to do with his body: according to whose direction (first consulting his Books) they burn, bury, or eat it. Few Towns of note there are amongst them. The principall, 1. *BOTTIA*, the *Metropolis* of it, 2. *Calamur*, and 3. *Negariot*, their Staples for the sale of their cloth (most of the people being *Weavers*) bought of them by the *Chinoys*, and *Tartarian* Merchants, who resort frequently to those markets. This is a distinct Kingdome of itself, the Kings whereof are called *Dermain*, but *Vassals* to the great *Mongul*. And so is he of?

2. *COUCHE*, another Kingdome of this tract, frontire upon *Gauchin-China*, beyond *Ganges*; so called from *Couche*, the chief Town of it. The country rich, by reason that it may be drowned, and dried up again, when the people will; full of good pastures by that means, and those well stored with Sheep, Goats, Swine, Deer, and other Cattel, though the people neither kill nor eat them. But on the contrary build *Hospitals* for them, in which when lame and old they are kept till they die. Yet many times they eat their money, and I cannot blame them; their small money being *Almonds*.

3. *GOUREN*, a kind of *Desart* or unpeopled country joyneth close to this. In which are few villages, grass longer than a man, and therein many *Buffes*, *Tigers*, and other wild Basts, none wilder than the theeves who frequent the wildernesses.

In this Tract also are the Kingdomes of *Rame*, and *Recon*, joining upon *Zagathay*, or inclining towards it; possessed by the *Mongul Tartars* from the time of *Tamerlane*, if not before but *Feudataries* to the kings of *Chabul* or *Arachosia*, who commanded in the North-East of *Persia*, and these North parts of *India*: and from those places drew his Army or the greatest part of it, when called unto the aid of *Galgee*, the king of *Mandas*. Here is also the kingdome of *Tippura*, naturally, fenced with hills and mountains; and by that means hitherto defended against the *Mongul Tartars*, their bad neighbours,

with whom they have continuall warres. But of these Northern Kingdomes lying towards *Tartary*, there is but little to be said, and that little of no certain knowledge : those parts being hitherto so untravelled that they may pass in the Accompt of a *Terra Incognita*.

PATANAW.

Patane or *Patanaw*, is bounded on the North, with the Realms of *Botanter* ; on the East, with *Ganges* ; on the West with *Oristan* ; and on the South, with the Kingdom and Gulf of *Bengala*. So called from *Patane* the chief city of it. There is another kingdom of this name in the further *India* ; but whether it were so called because a Colony of this ; or from some resemblances in the nature of the several countries, or from the signification of the word in the *Indian* language ; I am not able to determine, certain I am, that though they have the same name, yet they are under several Governments, and situate in farre distant places, no otherwise agreeing than in some resemblances as *Holland* in the *Low-Countries* doth with *Holland* in *Lincolnshire*.

The country yieldeth veins of gold which they dig out of the pits, and wash away the earth from it in great Bolls. The people tall, and of slender making, many of them old ; great Praters, and as great dissemblers. The women so bedecked with silver and copper, especially about the feet, that they are not able to endure a shooe. Both sexes use much washing in the open rivers, and that too intermixt together in their natural nakedness ; especially such as live near the banks of the river *Jemena* (esteemed more holy than the rest) which from *Agra* passing throw this country, falleth into *Ganges*.

Chief Towns hereof : 1. *Patane*, a large town and a long one, built with very broad streets ; but the houses very mean and poor, made at the best of earth and hurdles, and thatched over head. The *Metropolis* of this kingdom, because the antientest, and that which gives the name unto it. 2. *Bannaras*, a great Town on *Ganges*, to which the Gentiles from remote countries use to come in *pilgrimage*, to bath themselves in the holy waters of that river. The country betwixt this and *Patanaw*, very fair and flourishing, and beautified upon the Rode with handsome Villages. 3. *Siripur*, the chief Seat of one of the old Princes of this country ; not yet subdued by the Great Monguls. 4. *Ciandecan*, on the bottom of the Gulf of *Bengala* ; the seat of another of their Kings. One of which memorable for a trick put upon the *Jesuites*, when blamed by them for the worship of so many Pagodes, as contrary both to the law of God and nature. For causing them to rehearse the *Decalogue*, he told them that he did offend no more against those commandements in worshipping so many *Pagodes*, than they themselves in worshipping so many

Saints. 5. *Satagna*, a fair City (for a city of *Moore*s) once part of *Patanaw*, since ascribed to *Bengala*.

The people of this Country properly called *Pataneans*, but corruptly *Parthians*, were once of great command and power in these parts of *India*. Lords for a time, of a great part of the kingdom of *Bengala*, into which driven by *Baburxa*, the *Mongul Tartar*, the Father of *Emanpaxda*, and grandfather of *Echebar*. Their last king being slain in that war, twelve of their chief Princes joined in an *Aristocracy*, and warring upon *Emanpaxda* had the better of him. After this, their successors attempted *Oristan*, and added that also to their estate. But they could not long make good their fortunes; subdued by *Echebar* the *Mongul*, and made subject to him. Three of them, *viz.*, the Prince of *Siripur*, the King of *Ciandecan*, and he whom they call *Mausadalim*, retain, as yet (for ought I can learn unto the contrary) as well their antient *Paganism*, as their natural liberty. The other nine, together with *Mahometanism*, have vassalled themselves to the great *Mongul*, now the Lord Paramount of the country.

BENGALA.

Bengala is bounded on the North with *Patanaw*; on the East with the Kingdoms of *Pegu*; on the South and West, with the *Gulf of Bengala*; so called from *Bengala* the chief city of it.

It containeth in length on the *Gulf* and river 360 miles, and as much in breadth into the land. A Countrey stored with all things necessary to the life of man, great plenty of Wheat, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, and Long-Pepper. Such abundance of Silk and Cotton, and of Flesh and Fish, that it is impossible that any Countrey should exceed it in those commodities. And which crowns all, blest with so temperate and sweet an air, that it draws thither people of all sorts to inhabit it. Here is also, amongst other rarities, a Tree called *Moses*, which beareth so delicate a fruit, that the *Jews* and *Mahometans* who live here, affirm it to be the fruit which made *Adam* to sin.

The natural Inhabitants for the most part, are of white complexion, like the *Europeans*, subtil of wit, and of a courteous disposition, well skill'd in dealing in the world, much given to traffick, and intelligent in the way of Merchandize, if not somewhat deceitful. Not ignorant of other Arts, but with some smattering in *Philosophy*, *Physick*, and *Astrology*. Stately and delicate both in their Diet and Apparell: not naked as in others of these *Indian* Provinces, but clothed in a shirt or smock reaching to their feet, with some upper Garment over that. The women of an ill fame for their unchastity, though *Adultery* be punished with cutting off of their noses. Neat, if not curious and too costly in this one custom, that they never seeth meat twice in the same Pot, but for every boyling buy a

new one. In *Religion*, for the most part *Mahometans*, especially on the Sea-shores, which lay most open and commodious to the *Arabians*; by whom *Mahometanism* was here planted many ages since.

Of Rivers we need take no care having spoke of *Ganges*. That with its many channels may abundantly serve to water so small a Province. But here-of more anon in a place more proper. Proceed we now unto the cities. The principall whereof: 1. *Bengala*, which gave name to the whole Kingdom, situate on a branch of the River *Ganges*, and reckoned for one of the most beautiful Towns of all the *Indies*. Exceedingly enriched by trade, but more by *Pilgrimages*, by reason of the holyness and divine operations ascribed by the *Indians* to the waters of it: there being few years in which not visited by three or four thousand *Pilgrims*. 2. *Gouro*, the seat-Royall of the antient Kings. 3. *Catigan*, on the bottom of the Gulf of *Bengala*, a well-traded port. 4. *Taxda*, once a Town of great Trafick, and situate in those times on the banks of *Ganges*; now by the changing of the Channel (occasioned by the frequent overflowings of it) above a league off from the River. 5. *Porto grande*, and 6. *Porto Pequeno*, two Towns of the *Portugals*; but without Forts for defence, or rules for Government. Places like the *Asylum*, which was built by *Romulus*; whereunto such as dare not stay in their own countries, or any well-regulated cities, use to make their resort; privileged here to live in all kind of licentiousness.

Here is also in the North parts of this Province or adjoining to it, the City and Kingdom of *Arachan*. Lying along the banks of *Ganges*, but so remote from the sea, that it is 50 miles distant from the nearest branch of it. Wealthy, and populous withall; governed therefore by a King of its own, so wallowing in wealth and sensuall pleasures, that he had in this City and the parts adjoyning twelve Royall Palaces or *Seraglios*, all stowed with women for his lust. Now subject with *Bengala* and *Patanow*, between which it lieth, to the Empire of the great *Monguls*.

There are also small Ilands in the Gulf of *Bengala*, which I account unto that Kindom. 1. *Bazacata*, now called *Basse*. 2. *Batasso*, of which name there are five in *Ptolomy*, three of them by *Mercator* said to be *Mindanao*, *Cailon* and *Subut*. 3. Two, called the Islands of *Good Fortune*, by him placed under the *Æquator*, and said to be inhabited by *Anthropophagi*, or man-eaters, as also were three more which he calls 4. *Sabadibo*, now named *Cainam*. 5. *Insulae Satyrorum*, or the *Isles of Satyres*, three in number, the people whereof were reported to have tails like *Satyres*, and 6. Those called *Maniolo*, in number ten (now *Islas de Pracel*) reported by *Ptolomy* to be so stored with *Adamant* stones, that they violently drew to them any ships or vessels, which had iron in them: for which cause they which used these seas fastened the planks of their ships with wooden pins. But our later *Navigators*

find no such matter unless perhaps it be in the exploits of Sir *Houn* of *Bourdeaux*, where indeed we meet with such an *Iland*, in the course of his *Errantric*.

But to return again to the Kingdome of *Bengala*, we find it of a different constitution from the rest of the Kingdomes of these parts. Not governed by a family of successive Princes, descended from the stemme of a Royall Ancestric, as the others are. Chance, or necessity, had brought thither many *Abassines*, or *Æthiopians*, who made a conquest of the country; and chose a King out of themselves. To keep what they had gotten, and perpetuate the *Royall* honor to the *Abassine* Nation, they procured thence yearly certain thousands of *slaves*, whom they trained up unto the warres advanced unto the highest commands in *civill* and *military* service; and out of them elected one for their Lord and Sovereign: as the *Mamalucks* in the Kingdome of *Egypt*, whom herein they followed. By some *Arabians* trading with them, they came in time to admit *Mahometanism* amongst them; on the sea-coasts especially. Dispossessed first of some part of their Kingdome, lying about *Satagan*, by the *Pataneans*; when driven to seek new dwellings by *Baburxa*, the *Mongul Tartar*: and of their whole Kingdom, by the valor and good fortune of *Echebad*, who added it unto the rest of his estate.

THE GREAT MONGULS.

* * * * *

1550. 6. *Mahomet Setabdin*, commonly called *Echebar*, brother of *Adabar* the most fortunate and victorious Prince of all this family, subdued the Kingdoms of *Caximir*, *Agra*, *Decan*, *Orissa*, *Bengala*, *Patanaw*, and divers others of less note.

* * * * *

[To do justice to the interesting extract sent to us by Mr. Buckland, the reader should study the article "Godavery" in the last edition of *Hobson Jobson*, where it is pointed out that until Rennell published the first edition of his *Memoir* (1783) it was usual to confound the sources of the Godavery with those of the Mahanadi of Orissa and carry on the latter to combine with the western rivers of the Ganges Delta, and it was thus conceived that a river flowing across India from east to west divided the country into India *intra Gangem* and India *extra Gangem*. See also the article "Kedgerie" in *Hobson Jobson*.—W. K. F.]



The Opening of the East Indian Railway.



THE 15th August 1854 is a date worth remembering, for it was the day on which the first passenger train steamed out of Howrah and the first section of the East Indian Railway was opened for public traffic ; well may it have been called by the enthusiastic journalists of the times "a red letter day in the ides of progress."

It is not easy now to picture India without a railway of any kind, but we can imagine what an awakening the opening of the first section of the line must have been ; what hopes were raised of future commercial enterprise what anticipations were prompted as to its political and social effect on the people of the country. A leading Calcutta paper of the day wrote : "The best which can be said of Bengal at this moment is bad. It is a wilderness, a great jungle.

*" 'tis an unweeded garden
That grows to seed ; things rank and
gross in nature
Possess it merely."*

"Its resources are totally undeveloped, its natural products remain almost unknown," and again : "While Governors and Government and its Officials could only travel 16 or 20 miles a day, they lived, thought, wrote, acted, ruled at the rate of 20 miles a day. Now they will find where there is a railway we must all accept the high pressure principle. In twenty years hence the *dolce far niente* of Bengal will be slain."

But let us endeavour to recall the scene at Howrah on this opening day. What is known to us as the "old" Howrah Station had not yet been constructed ; there was just a temporary shed five minutes' walk from the muddy bank of the river. It was one of the earliest grievances that there was no landing ghat on the Howrah side, and that more often than not there were no palanquins available to convey people from the foreshore to the trains. The town of Howrah as we know it now with its teeming population, its mills, factories and workshops, was then little more than a village. It is true that the site on which the new railway station now stands was a jumble of railway stores, and that the workshops of the locomotive department, where engines were put together and carriages constructed were already there, and

also that there were a few small privately owned mills and workshops in the vicinity, but these were only the beginnings of Howrah as we now know the place. It was, at the time the Railway first opened, a sort of isolated suburb, completely separated from Calcutta by the river; for it was not till many years after that Sir Bradford Leslie's floating bridge connected the two places. In the meanwhile everybody who wanted to go by train had to cross the Hooghly by boat and we may imagine what a pilgrimage it was to get to or from the Railway station.

Having arrived at the temporary shed called the station, the intending passenger had to force his way through an excited and noisy crowd to the Booking Office, for there was only one small place at which tickets were issued to all classes of passengers and in this small place sat one or two Babus distracted by the requirements of the eager applicants, and unable to respond to the demands for tickets because they were new to their duties, untrained and unaccustomed to work at such high pressure.

As an instance of the difficulty of procuring a ticket one complainant wrote: "To get a ticket is a work of time and most trying to the temper of the impatient traveller the whistle was screaming, but hardly louder than the Bengali writers were vituperating each other instead of attending to our wants." The complaint of another was to the effect that even if you secured a ticket you were by no means certain of a seat in the train, which by the way, was made up of the total coaching stock the line possessed: three first class, two second class, three trucks for third class passengers and a brake van for the guard. All these vehicles had been built in India without a model of any kind, under the supervision of Mr. Hodgson, the first Locomotive Superintendent of the East Indian Railway, the carriages sent out from England as models having been most unfortunately lost a few weeks before in the shipwreck of the *Goodwin* at the Sandheads.

There were no less than three thousand applications for tickets by this first train and of course the great majority were disappointed as the accommodation was barely sufficient for a tenth of that number. A public holiday had been suggested, but this idea was not adopted as the Railway was obviously not in a position to deal with an immense crowd; besides this the official opening of the line was to take place later on, and as a newspaper of the day remarked 'those who [desire to treat themselves to the novelty of the thing will have an opportunity of doing so every day in the week except Sunday.'

Sunday was then a day of rest on the Railway; trains were not run, the locomotives went to shed, the staff took a holiday; it was a printer's devil who first proposed Sunday trains on the East Indian Railway. Three days after the line had been opened to Hooghly an anonymous correspondent who

signed himself "A Printer's Devil" wrote to the *Harkaru* paper in these terms :—

"Attracted by the novelty of the Railway, thousands are daily gathering to witness the running of trains and take trips to the places on the line, but by the arrangements restricting the running to week days, we who cannot be absent on one of these days are deprived of obtaining a peep at the iron horse. May I therefore take upon myself to suggest the propriety (impropriety rather) of running the locomotive on Sundays also, to enable us *poor devils* to satisfy the curiosity which now devours us."

This suggestion was soon afterwards adopted, for on the 1st of September, one of the earliest advertisements, signed from the first Head-quarters of the East Indian Railway, 29, Theatre Road,* by R. MacDonald Stephenson, Managing Director and Agent, a name remembered by everyone as the Pioneer of Railway enterprise in India, announced that two trains would start daily from Howrah for Pundooah, to which station the line had by then been extended, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The hours of arrival are not given, but the same eight carriages ran up and down to form the service, and it may here be noted that trains ran in daylight only.

Of course there were many grumblers; the sheets of stagnant water, formed by the borrow pits along each side of the railway, were declared unwholesome, the presence of "oily natives in a state akin to nudity in the first class carriages," the overcrowding and so on were all themes for complaint. One writer to the public press gives his experiences in these words:—

"The up going passengers in the first class carriages on the day noted were for the most part exceedingly respectable, but all sorts of riff-raff of all colours were in the same carriages on the return trip. Some of the male gender were all the worse for their holiday making and two of them in the same compartment amused the other passengers with their amateness. One very dark East Indian gentleman and his very dark lady stood up the greater part of the journey looking out of the window, the sterner sexed passenger winding his arm fondly round the neck of the passenger of the feminine gender. There was another billing and cooing couple of the Saxon breed and two who were almost vehemently affectionate—another gentleman treated his fellow passengers with a brief dance and various practical jokes, &c., &c."

On the whole, however, early notices were complimentary. "The speed at which travellers are conveyed," writes one, "leaves nothing to be desired. I travel up and down the line almost every day and I should declare the

* The present Turf Club. The numbering of Theatre Road has since been altered.

average rate to be about 45 miles an hour, although midway between the several stations, as high a rate as 60 miles an hour is attained. The motion of the carriages is extremely easy. The European officials are most attentive" and so on. The *Harkaru*, of the 23rd August 1854, has an amusing article on "First impressions and first impulses of Railway travelling" full of poetical allusions—skipping the earlier part of this entertaining production, we quote the following as indicating the general views about the Railway at the time.

"Roopchand Ghose, a flourishing dealer in piece goods and perfumery, when set down at the end of the journey and told that he had arrived at Hooghly, felt strongly suspicious that he had been served out in the coin so often used in his own shop [in the China Bazaar and that he had been fairly 'sold.' Arrived at Hooghly so soon—impossible! he thought—and when he saw the train was not going to move again immediately, he went about asking people what place it was, and if it was really Hooghly, and it took a long time before the conviction gained upon him that verily he *had* come to Hooghly.

"At five minutes past six o'clock on Wednesday evening, a native sircar was seen running incontinently from Armenian Ghât* towards Chitpore Road. Those who saw him had their own charitable surmises, and the first chowkidar he came up to that happened to be awake stopped him, suspecting that he was running away under the cowardly impulse of a guilty conscience. This individual was no other than Kali Coomar Day, so well known to the Commanders of ships, and who having once 'realized' a full idea of Railway speed felt an irresistible impulse to accelerate his personal locomotion by running instead of walking.

"One of the thrice born, Radhalunkur Banerjea, having made up his mind to make a trip on the Railway, duly consulted the stars with the help of the Almanac, and fixed upon Thursday for the journey as a "lucky" day. He fortified himself for the expedition by bathing three times in the river, and repeating the name of his tutelary god nine hundred and thirty-seven times. All the while he sat in the carriage he preserved the most serene and meditative silence as was very proper and becoming in so learned a person, though some took occasion irreverently to hint that the pundit was feeling *funky*. He went on as far as Hooghly but declined to undertake the return journey, because, said he, too much travelling on the car of fire is calculated to shorten life, for seeing that it annihilates time and space and curtails the length of every other journey, shall it not also shorten the journey of human life? Being asked by other pundits to furnish an exposition of the nature

* For many years the East Indian Railway had a booking office at Armenian Ghât and passengers could take their tickets there before crossing the river.—G. H.

and properties of the Railway, our friend Banerjea gave utterance to a lot of Sanskrit maxims and verses, which very few could venture to pronounce and fewer pretended to understand. But his hearers were as perfectly satisfied with the explanation as if Watt himself had lectured to them on the Steam Engine. Indeed the learned Radhalunkur and his learned compeers feel a firm conviction that a mighty demon is kept imprisoned in the great green boiler of the Locomotive and made to work the machinery by the application of live coals to his tail, and that every time the stokers stir him up with their long hot pokers, he utters that dreadful diabolical shriek which the engineers facetiously call the 'whistle.'

"Many Europeans and East Indians have likewise performed their maiden journey on 'our own' Railway, and have also their 'first impressions,' which are doubtless as deserving of record as those of the individuals mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs,—but suffice it to state one instance only. Mr. Jones 'regardless of expense,' made trips to Hooghly and back three successive days, and the consequence is that ever since his old horse has had to pay for it. Having acquired a notion of speed such as he never knew before, he can no longer reconcile himself to the jog trot of his buggy horse, and accordingly does nothing but whip the poor brute as soon as he gets behind him, in the vain hope of making him go at something like Railway speed."

Comment is needless, although probably the article was merely intended for wit, it clearly indicates the feeling and style of talk at the time that Railway trains were first run in India.

We now pass to the official opening of the Railway. Saturday, the 3rd February 1855, was the day chosen and Burdwan was the scene of the festivities that followed, but unfortunately owing to severe indisposition, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, could not do more than attend the ceremony at Howrah Station. Lord Dalhousie's absence was a great disappointment he had taken the greatest interest in the Railway and had looked forward to being present, but it was out of the question and in a sympathetic letter to Mr. Stephenson he wrote :—

"I shall be present at Howrah but I am conscious that I am wholly unfit for the performance of the remainder of the task, which would involve a Railway journey of 150 miles, a midday banquet and the addressing of 400 people under a Bengal sun."

The party invited to attend began to assemble at Howrah Station at 8 o'clock and by 9 A.M. about a thousand guests were ready to start for Burdwan. The Governor-General, with his staff, arrived shortly after 9-30 and the ceremony of the day was opened by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who, after reading several appropriate texts, offered up a prayer and gave the benediction.

Two trains had been provided for the occasion. Joshua Greenhow* was the driver of the first and Samuel Briggs† was the driver of the second, and each train took 2 hours 50 minutes on the run.

On arriving at Burdwan Station "the guests were conducted through an avenue strewn with leaves and overhung with arched bows and streamers to a pavilion decorated with corresponding taste, under which a sumptuous breakfast was laid out."

In the absence of the Governor-General Mr. Stephenson took the chair. To his right was the Lord Bishop, to his left the Hon'ble Mr. Dorin and amongst the gentlemen at the same table were Sir J. W. Colville, Sir Arthur Butler, the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, the Hon'ble Mr. Peacock, and many others whose names are still familiar in India.

After the banquet and the usual loyal toasts many speeches were made. Mr. MacDonald Stephenson proposed the health of the Governor-General and quoted largely from his despatch to the Court of Directors of the East India Company dated the 20th April 1853 which finally decided the fluctuating fate of the entire question of Indian Railways. Sir Arthur Butler proposed the Army, Brigadier Wakford replied—Captain Rogers proposed the Navy and Captain Crawford responded. The Hon'ble Mr. Dorin proposed the East Indian Railway Company. In the course of his speech he said that the Railway might justly be characterized as "the greatest good that had been conferred on India by the application of European science. To the Government it would be of the highest value as a political engine; but its advantages in that point of view would sink into comparative insignificance when contrasted with the benefits which it would confer upon the country and people both physically and morally;" and again, "the men of twenty years hence would indeed see and profit by the astounding works and results of which we had only been the Pioneers. But even we ourselves had seen great changes, and had found with astonishment the extraordinary demand which had already been created amongst a class of persons whom it had been thought it would be impossible to attract to that system of locomotion." Many had been of opinion that natives would not use the Railway but from the day it opened this gloomy anticipation was dispelled. "It must always be borne in mind," said Mr. Dorin, "that to the East Indian Railway Company we are indebted for the first great stride that had been made in Railway progress, that Company had already so far taken the lead amongst competitors that it appeared inevitable that they must maintain the position." No truer words were spoken that day and the toast was drunk with loud and repeated cheers.

* Both these drivers left the line in 1862.

Mr. MacDonald Stephenson replied in a long and interesting speech, the key words of which may be said to have been "modesty" and "appreciation"—modesty in alluding to his own achievements, appreciation in referring to the good work of his staff. Space does not permit of our quoting from Mr. MacDonald Stephenson's speech on this auspicious day, nor is it easy to select any particular portion of it as being more interesting than other parts, but in the course of it he reminded those present that of the 20 previous years of his life devoted to the service and interests of India, the first six had been spent in contributing to secure steam navigation between Great Britain and India while the last fourteen had been "steadily directed to those results, the first instalment of which we are this day assembled to commemorate."

Many other speeches were made. The Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Grant, afterwards Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Mr. Turnbull, the Company's first Chief Engineer, and Mr. Hodgson, their first Locomotive Superintendent, and several others spoke. Each one had something more or less interesting to say and as a matter of fact speeches were continued hour after hour until late in the afternoon when the party got into the return trains and were carried back to Howrah, the down run taking only 2 hours 40 minutes.

Hopes were high: "649 miles are under contract to be completed by the beginning of 1857," said Mr. Stephenson in his speech at Burdwan. How little did those present realize what would happen in two short years time, but the history of the Railway during the Mutiny is another story!

G. II.



Haji Mahomed Mohsin and the Hughli Imambarah.*



IN the romantic history of early commercial intercourse between India and Europe few cities figure so prominently as Hughli, on the Bhagirathi, which was, commercially as well as politically, one of the most important places in Bengal during the first-half of the XVIIIth Century. It was a great emporium of trade, and perhaps the most flourishing port in this part of India whence the valuable products of the country were exported to Europe. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, among other Europeans, had numerous factories and warehouses in the city, and its population, as that of all large trade-centres, was enormous, representing various nationalities and diverse creeds.

About this time, came to Hughli from Persia, "pre-eminently the land of adventurous merchants," Agha Fazlullah, a man of family and fortune, with the view of engaging in commerce. Agha Fazlullah left his son Haji Faizullah at Murshidabad, which, also, was the seat of an active commerce and himself settled in Hughli. By pursuing trade at both these places on an extensive scale Agha Fazlullah soon amassed a large fortune. But he would seem to have lost nearly all his wealth as rapidly as he had acquired it owing, probably, to speculations of a risky nature on which, like most other merchants, he had thoughtlessly embarked. Haji Faizullah, after this disaster, did not remain at Murshidabad for long but came down to Hughli where the father and son continued to reside, carrying on business on a small scale, with the money saved from the wreck of their fortune.

At this time came to Hughli from Delhi Agha Motaher, who had been an officer of some rank in the Imperial service, and originally belonged, like Agha Fazlullah, to Ispahan. Agha Motaher was known to be a great favourite of the Emperor Aurangzib, and had received extensive *Jagirs* from the Emperor in what are now the districts of Jessore and Nadia, and he settled in Hughli with the twofold object of engaging in trade and looking after his estate, which lay conveniently near to that place.

Agha Motaher had an only child, a daughter named Mannu Jan Khanum, "on whom he doted to pardonable excess." There is a touch of romance

* We reprint here a prize essay on the life and work of Haji Mahomed Mohsin which originally appeared in the *Indian World* for May 1907: it is reproduced by the courteous permission of the Editor of that Journal.

about the will by which he left her the whole of his property, moveable and immoveable, including all his *Jagirs*. Shortly before his death he had presented his darling child with a massive golden *Tamiz* (amulet) which, he said at the time, would prove of immense good to her after his death. The gift, however, was encumbered with the condition that the ornament should on no account be broken open until after he was dead. The injunction was not violated; and when, on Agha Motaher's death, it was broken open the ornament was found to contain his will, duly sealed and signed, by which he had bequeathed, as has already been said, all his property to his daughter, Mannu Jan Khanum. No provision whatever, it is said, had been made in the will for his widow, who consequently "left home in high dudgeon." Though left unprovided for by the will of her husband, she would seem to have had property of her own, and was, besides, gifted with no ordinary beauty. She married Haji Faizullah, the son of Agha Fazlullah, of whom mention has already been made. The first and only offspring of this romantic marriage is the subject of this memoir—Mahomed Mohsin.

Mohsin was born in 1730 A.D. Following the practice which was then universally in vogue among the Mahomedans and has also come down to the present days so far as respectable members of the community are concerned, Mohsin, when about ten years of age, began to be instructed in Arabic and Persian which form the Moslem classics. Gifted as he was with the resources of keen intelligence and a retentive memory, he made rapid progress in his studies. Mohsin prosecuted his studies under Agha Shirazi, a Persian gentleman and a good Arabic scholar, and had for his co-pupil his half-sister, Mannu Jan, who also attained considerable proficiency in Persian. Both Mohsin and Mannu Jan Khanum, who was elder to him by eight years, lived together in the house of Agha Motaher where they were brought up and educated till the death of Haji Faizullah. Agha Shirazi, besides being profoundly learned, was a man of considerable worldly wisdom and experience, and had travelled extensively in foreign countries before settling down in Hughli. He was fond of narrating the "tales of his travels" and describing his adventures in foreign and distant lands to his young pupils; and no one could wish for a better audience. The imagination of young Mohsin was fired by these thrilling stories, and he early conceived that irrepressible longing to travel in far-off lands, which formed such a notable feature of his later life and which kept him away from a luxurious home for more than a quarter of a century. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that in those days travelling was in no sense a luxury, and entirely unlike the present-day comfortable globe-trotting. On the completion of each short stage in his journey, the traveller of those days would send up fervent prayers in thanksgiving to the Almighty for having saved his life from some brutal attack of man or beast.

After some years of diligent study at Hughli, Mohsin proceeded to Murshidabad to join the well-known *Maktab* there with a view to perfecting his already deep knowledge of the *Quran* and the classics, and he passed a few years in that city.

On his return to Hughli, Mohsin discovered that some enemies were plotting to poison his sister, Mannu Jan Khanum. He warned his sister of the conspiracy in time and thus saved her life. The conspirators were baffled, and stringent precautions were taken to prevent a recurrence of the attempt on the life of Mannu Jan. But Mohsin, fearing that the conspirators might avenge themselves on him for the failure of their vile design upon the life of his sister, himself quietly left Hughli without informing her or anybody else, and after halting for a few days at Murshidabad, set out, when only thirty-two years of age, on his well-known travels. He first travelled up-country, and, after visiting some of the more famous Indian towns, ultimately made his way to Arabia and visited the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. After duly performing the *Haj* (or pilgrimage), he earned the revered title of *Haji* which is coupled with his name to this day. He travelled through Egypt, Turkey and Persia, visiting Kerbela and the other sacred Moslem shrines and spent some time in Najaf, then a famous seat of oriental learning. While leaving Arabia he was attacked by some highwaymen who stripped him of whatever they could find on his person. "He was thus stranded as a pauper in a foreign land in the midst of an alien population. Homeless and penniless, he travelled for twenty-seven years in different parts of Persia and Central Asia adding to his already rich stock of erudition and exploring new fields of scholarship."

Mohsin returned to India *via* Khorasan when he was about sixty years of age, his reputation as an erudite scholar and one of the greatest authorities of his time on the interpretation of the Moslem Scriptures having preceded him. After spending some months at Delhi, Benares and Patna, Haji Mahomed Mohsin reached Lucknow, which was then attracting men of worth and talent from the waning Delhi and other parts of India. The Nawab Asaf-ud-dowlah, a renowned patron of letters, pressed him to remain there and made tempting offers of position and wealth, but Mohsin, whose object in visiting these places was not to court Imperial or princely patronage but to seek the intercourse of the pious and the learned, declined the Nawab's invitation politely but firmly and returned to his native province of Bengal. He spent some time in Dacca and Murshidabad—the centres of Mahomedan culture and refinement in this part of India at the time—enjoying the company of the famous *Ulema* or Scholars of those places.

To return now to Mannu Jan Khanum. During this interval she was married to Mirza Salahuddin Mahomed Khan, nephew of Agha Motaher,



HAJJ MAHOMED MGHISIN.
*(From phototype work kindly lent by
Raj Kumar Manindra Deb Rai Mahasay.)*

who had come from Persia. Their married life, though brief, was one of unbroken happiness, and both Mirza Salahuddin and his wife were universally liked and respected for their piety and charity. The (now famous) *Imambarah* at Hughli was originally erected by Agha Motaher on the very site where Murshid Kuli Khan, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, had established a similar institution before him.

Mirza Salahuddin made several additions to the *Imambarah* buildings, and established the *Hat* still known after him as the "*hat* of Mirza Salah." Mirza Salahuddin Mahomed, however, died in the prime of life, leaving his devoted wife to wear the weeds of early widowhood. Left to her own resources, Mannu Jan Khanum managed her vast estates with great tact and ability, displaying a thorough grasp of *zemindari* affairs. She was also a woman of great strength of character. When Nawab Khan Jehan Khan, of Hughli, sent a messenger to her, with an offer of marriage, she answered thus: "No; I will not consent to be the wife of a man whose desire is to marry me, not for the sake of affection, but for money."

While Mohsin, whom she loved dearly, was away, she had written to him, more than once, urging him to return home and take charge of her property, but in vain. When staying at Murshidabad, Mohsin learnt that his sister had become a widow and that the affairs of her estate were falling into disorder. At last he was prevailed upon by his sister to come down to Hughli and take entire charge of her property. This illustrious lady breathed her last in the year 1210 B.S. (1803 A.D.) leaving by will, in the absence of heirs, all the property she owned to her half-brother, Haji Mahomed Mohsin. Mohsin thus became the sole owner of extensive estates. Pergana Saidpur, which was his principal estate in the District of Jessore, was locally known as the "Four Anna Share Estate." Mr., afterwards Sir, James Westland thus notices the origin of the estate in his excellent monograph on Jessore:

"The East India Company received from the Nawab a grant of certain land near Calcutta and one of the Zemindars whom he dispossessed in order to make this grant was named Salahuddin Khan. This man representing that Sayam Sundur's property had no heirs requested its bestowal upon himself in requital for the loss of his former Zemindari, and the Nawab, not unwilling to give what was not his own, bestowed upon him the four annas share of the Rajah's estates."

There is every reason to believe that the Salahuddin mentioned here is the same person as the nephew of Agha Motaher whom Mannu Jan married. As there is no mention in Mr. Westland's book of the *Jagir* in Jessore said to have been bestowed on Agha Motaher by the Delhi Court, it may be assumed that

"the *Jagir* in question was the estate of which Salahuddin had been deprived and for the loss of which he received compensation in the shape of a four-anna share of the Pergana Saidpur." Thus was founded the estate of Saidpur, which was afterwards known as the

"Saidpur Trust Estate," its more familiar name in the district being the "Four-Anna Estate." Says Sir James Westland: "The lands attached to the estate are of considerable extent and include a large part of the Pergana Saidpur with much of the land surrounding Jessore, part of the Pergana Isafpore, considerable lands on the N.-W. of Khulna, and on the right bank of the Bhairab, much of the land near Keshubpore and an estate in the south near Sobnal. The Pergana Sobnal, which is also within the estate, is within the geographical limits of the 21-Perganas."

When his sister died, Mohsin became, by the terms of her will, the sole heir and undisputed master of an enormous fortune. It might be supposed that the change from a life of privation and hardship to one of luxurious ease and comfort would influence the character and habits of the man. But no. Haji Mohsin was entirely impervious to this change, except in so far as it afforded a larger sphere for his proverbial charity and benevolence. The possession of immense wealth had no influence over his mind, and he led the same simple life that he had chosen for himself in the days of his boyhood. Mohsin spent most of his large income in charities: all he had was for the needy and the deserving. He was a man of highly catholic instincts and his charities, consequently, were not limited by the sordid restrictions of caste or creed. His acts of benevolence, which typified the proverbial ideal of charity, are in striking contrast to the "self-advertising pose" of "public benefactors" of the present day. Many are the stories, recorded as well as traditional, which illustrate his magnanimity. "An old dependant of his who, having lived for more than hundred years in Hughli, died a few years ago, used to tell most interesting stories about the generosity and unique character of his wonderful master."* "Once, he used to say, a thief having scaled the wall of Mahomed Mohsin's house, entered his apartment at the dead of night. But Mahomed Mohsin, being awake at the time, recognised him as a resident of the place and rebuked him for his unrighteous act. The thief confessed his fault and threw himself on the mercy of Haji Mohsin who pardoned him and gave him some money, telling him not to relate the incident to anybody. But so great was the effect of this generosity on the mind of the thief, that he could not withhold from relating the story in illustrating the generosity of Mahomed Mohsin!" It was his wont to disguise himself and stroll through the streets in the night "in search of the famished beggar, the starving widow, and the helpless orphan" in order to relieve their distress.

Reference has already been made to Mohsin's profound erudition which was acquired in the course of a long life devoted to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. He was also a first-rate caligraphist, and his copies of the *Holy Quran* were greatly admired by the *Moulvies* of the time for their fine penmanship. Before inheriting his sister's fortune, he was in the habit of giving away copies which he had made of the *Quran* to the poor and the

* Vide *Mulk and Millut*, June 19, 1906.

needy, who had no difficulty in obtaining very large sums for Mohsin's gift, thanks to its charming caligraphy. Ordinarily they were said to fetch Rs. 1,000 per copy, and it is on record that the "number of the *Quran* which he gave away *gratis* was no fewer than (72) seventy-two copies." One can imagine the amount of time and labour which this Herculean task must have exacted from him.

Mohsin was also physically robust and one of the best swordsmen of his time in India. In wrestling, too, he had considerable skill and was known to be a *Pahelwan*. His strength, however, was never used for oppression or aggression; it was always at the disposal of the weak and defenceless.

On the 20th of April 1806, Haji Mahomed Mohsin, who had never married and had no heirs, signed a Deed of Trust by which he gave away the whole of his fortune representing an annual income of Rs. 45,000, but which now yields over rupees one lakh and fifty-six thousand a year, for charitable purposes. The original Will is kept with care in the *Imambarah* at Hughli, but a translation in English is inserted on the walls of the Imambarah on the north side.*

* "I, Haji Mahomed Moshin, son of Haji Faizullah, inhabitant of Bander-i-Hughli, in the full possession of all my senses and faculties, with my own free will and accord, to make the following correct and legal declaration: that the zemindary of Pergana Sandpan (Quimety) appendant to Zillah Jessore and Pergana Sumbul also appendant to Zillah at-tesaid, and one house situated in Hughli (known and distinguished as Imambarah) and Imambazer and *Hilt* (market) also situated in Hughli and all the goods and chattels appertaining to the Imambarah agreeably to a separate list; the whole of which have devolved upon me by inheritance, and of which the proprietary possession I enjoy up to the present time; as I have no children nor grand-children nor other relatives who would become my legal heirs; and as I have full wish and desire to keep up and continue the usages and charitable expenditures (Marasim-o Akhrajat-i-Hasnah) at the Fiteha, etc., of the Huzrat (on whom be blessings and rewards) which have been the established practice of this family, I therefore hereby give purely for the sake of God, the whole of the above property, with all its rights, immunities and privileges, whole and entire, little or much in with it, or from it, and whatever (by way of appendage) might arise from it, relate or belong to it—as a permanent appropriation for the following expenditures:—and have hereby appointed Rajab Ali Khan son of Sheikh Mahomed Sadeq, and Shalar Ali Khan, son of Ahmed Khan, who have been tried and approved by me as possessing understanding, knowledge, religion and probity, Mutawallis (trustees or superintendents) of the said *rooky* or appropriation, which I have given in trust to the above two individuals—that, aiding and assisting each other, they may consult, advice and agree together in the joint management of the business of the said appropriation, in the manner as follows:—That the aforementioned Mutawallis after paying the revenues of Government, shall divide the remaining produce of the *Mahals* aforementioned into five shares of which *three shares* they shall disburse in the observance of the *Fateha* of Hajrut Syud-i-Kaima (chief of the creation) the last of the Prophets, and of the sinless Imams (on all of whom be the blessings and peace of God) and in the expenditures appertaining to the *Ushra* of Moharrum ul-haram (ten days of the Moharrum) and all other blessed days of feasts and festivals, and in the repairs of the Imambarah and the cemetery: *two shares* the Mutawallis, in equal portion, shall appropriate to themselves for their own expenses, and *four shares* shall be distributed in the payment of the establishment, and of those whose names are

It is stated that in the testator's family, from generation to generation, certain changes had been incurred and usages observed in connection with the celebration of religious rites and festivals, and that, as he had no children by whom the performance of these pious duties could be perpetuated he desired to make provision for their continued discharge. He therefore made over specified property to two Mutawallis or Trustees, Rajab Ali Khan and Shakir Ali Khan, to carry into effect the provisions of the will. The net proceeds of the property were to be divided into nine equal shares and appropriated as follows :—Three-ninths were to be set apart for religious services, and, as explained in detail in the will, two-ninths were to be kept by the Mutawallis for their own use, of which they were to have the absolute disposal; and the remaining four-ninths were to be devoted to various non-religious charitable purposes. The Trustees were also authorised "to uphold whatever they thought fit, and resume whatever they deemed unfit."

Haji Mahomed Mohsin died in 1812, and after his death the estates were managed by the two Mutawallis, Rajab Ali Khan and Shakir Ali Khan. The latter having died first, the management of the entire property came into the hands of the surviving Mutawallis Rajab Ali Khan and Bakar Ali Khan, son of Shakir Ali Khan. In 1220 B.S., Rajab Ali Khan appointed by a deed of trust his son, Wasiq Ali Khan *alias* Moghul Jan, a trustee in his place. Both Bakar Ali Khan and Wasiq Ali Khan managed the estates for some time, but they would seem to have entered on a course of embezzlement and mismanagement.* The Board of Revenue interfered for the better management of the endowment under the provisions of Regulation XIX of 1810. On the 16th November 1815, they deputed Syad Ali Akbar Khan with instructions to manage the estates as *Amin* and temporary manager in conjunction with the two Mutawallis. After 8 or 9 months, the trust was again restored to the Mutawallis as per order

inserted in the separate list signed and sealed by me. In regard to daily expenses, monthly stipends of the stipendiaries, respectable men, *fratels* and other persons who at this present movement stand appointed, the Mutawallis aforementioned, after me, have full power to retain, abolish, or discharge them as it may appear to them most fit and expedient. I have publicly committed the appropriation to the charge of the two above named individuals. In the event of a Mutawalli finding himself unable to conduct the business of the appropriation, he may appoint anyone whom he may think most fit and proper, as a Mutawalli to act in his behalf. For the above reason this document is given in writing this 19th day of Bysack, in the year 1221 Hejira, corresponding with the Bengal year 1213 (20th April 1806), that whenever it be required it may prove a legal deed."

* According to the finding of the Court of Sudder Dewany Adalat "the proper objects of the endowment were neglected, the Government revenue fell into arrears, while the income was spent on quarrels between the managers, bribes to the police and *Amins*, and gifts to the managers' relatives. They moreover, in order to increase their own profits at the expense of the trust, forged a perpetual lease in their own favor and that of their relatives, purporting to have been executed by Haji Mahomed Mohsin before the deed of foundation."

of the Collector of Jessore, dated the 9th July 1816, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, and rules for their control were laid down. The Mutawallis paid up the Government revenue by raising loans for that purpose and managed the estates for a period of about two years more. The restoration of the trust to them would seem, however, to have been undeserved. In September 1818, the Board of Revenue re-ejected the Trustees from the management of the *wakf* estates, appointing Syud Ali Akbar Khan to act again as manager. From this date the institution has been practically controlled by the Government. "In the meantime, Bakar Ali Khan became insane, and his colleague, Wasiq Ali Khan, applied to the Board for reinstatement, but to no effect." He afterwards engaged in litigation with the Government, opposing their right of assumption of the Mutawalliship. The cause, however, was decided against him by Mr. D. C. Smythe, Judge of Hughli, whose judgment was finally confirmed by the Lords of the Privy Council in 1835. "The Board of Revenue in 1817 founded a Madrassah at an annual cost of Rs. 6,060, payable out of the funds of the endowment."* But "the leading feature in the first twenty years of Government management was the growth of a considerable fund vested in Government securities. In 1821 the property was sold in *putni tenures*, that is to say, subject to a quit-rent fixed in perpetuity, and about six lakhs of rupees were received on this account. But as the suit questioning the validity of the title was then pending in the Privy Council, it was made a condition of the sale that if that case was lost, and the new owner refused to confirm the *putnis*, the purchase-money should be returned with interest. To meet this possible charge, the proceeds of the *putni* sale were invested in Government securities, and the interest being added as it accrued to the original principal, a capital sum of about *ten lakhs of rupees* were accumulated."

In 1835, the law suits having then recently terminated the Government created the "Mahomed Mohsin Education Endowment Fund," and the decision of the Government of India was recorded in their letter No. 282, dated the 28th October, addressed to the General Committee of Public Instruction.†

* Report of Mahomedan Educational Endowments Committee: Bengal Secretariat Press: 1888.

† "The Governor General in Council, deeming himself to have succeeded to the full authority and power assigned by Haji Mohsin to the *Mutawallis*, considers it to be entirely in his power to determine upon the appropriation of the funds, subject, of course, to the condition of adhering as closely as possible to the wishes of the testator in points on which they have been declared.

"Now it appears that the growing income from the Jessore estate was the only fund in the testator's contemplation, and the expenses of the Imambarah, the *Mutawallis*' allowances, with the pensions and establishment, are charges specifically upon that income, which is estimated by the Sub-committee at Hughli to yield the sum of Rs. 45,000 per annum.

After the passing of Act XX of 1863 "a Committee was appointed under section 7 of that Enactment for the supervision of the portion of the Endowment assigned for religious uses. This Committee controls the expenditure of a contribution equal to three-ninths of the income directly derived from the original estate in the form of rents, and an allowance of Rs. 750 a month in respect for the charge of establishment to be borne by the four-ninths share. The manager, who now deals only with the religious assignment, having no concern with the property generally, receives one-ninth. The remainder of the estate, including the whole of the interest on the accommodation, and amounting in all to about

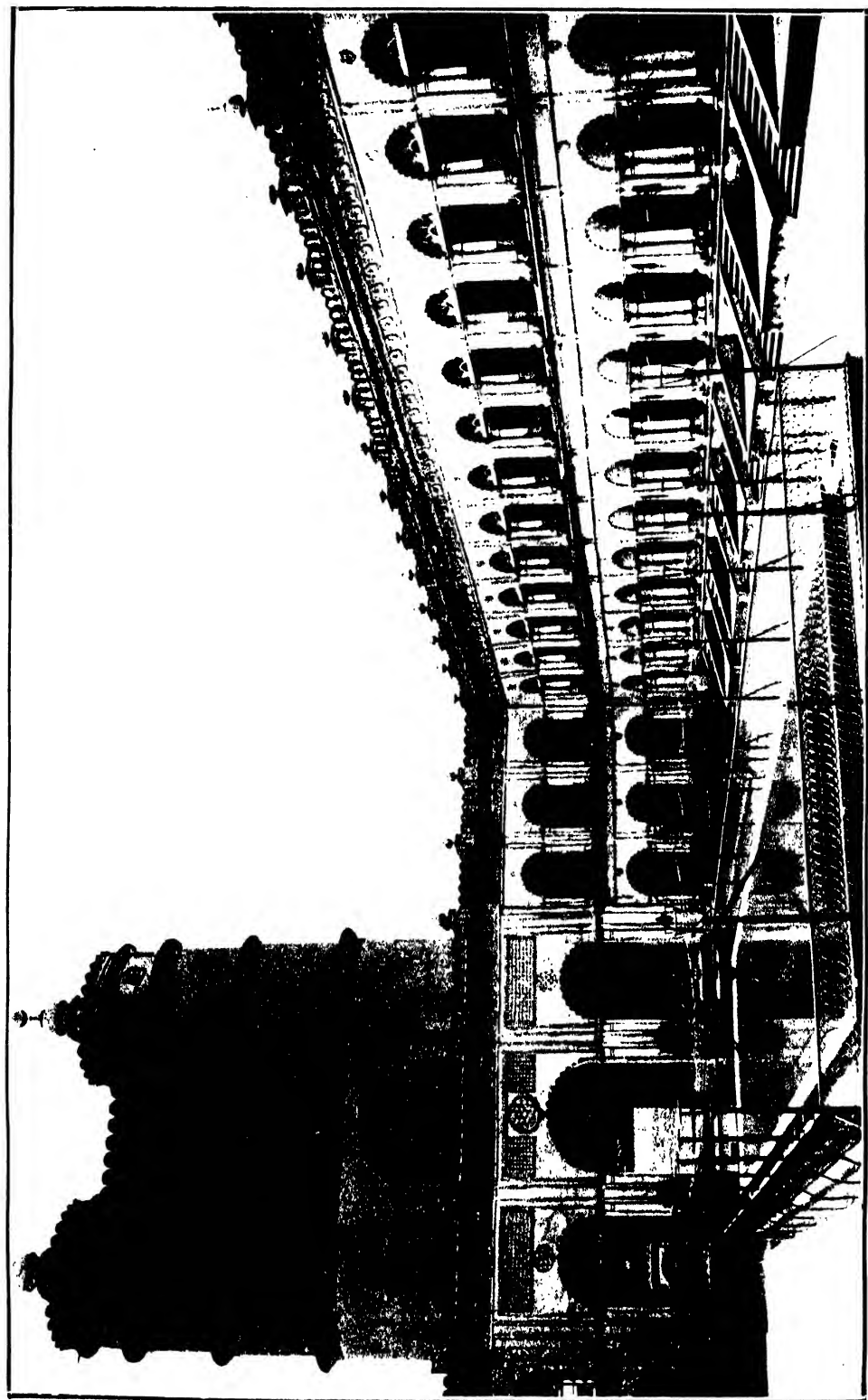
"The Governor-General in Council adverting to the conditions of the will resolves that three ninths of the income from the Zemindaries shall permanently be assigned for the current expenses of the Imambarah, etc., etc., of the two-ninths of this income assigned to the Mutawallis, but which are now at the disposal of Government, the Governor-General in Council assigns one-ninth to the agent or Mutawalli appointed by the Government, but he does not deem it necessary to appoint a second Mutawalli, or to appropriate the second ninth share assigned by the testator to the co-trustee nominated in the original will. This ninth, therefore, will be available for general purposes of a benevolent nature along with the surplus funds to which I shall presently advert. It may, however, be necessary to point out that in the above observations the principle to be adopted permanently is intended to be laid down rather than the particular course to be followed in respect to the present representative of the Government in the office of Mutawalli should Ali Akbar Khan be now in the receipt of a larger allowance than the ninth appropriated to the remuneration of that officer, it is not intended not to disturb that arrangement.

"The four-ninths of the Zemindari income appropriated by the testator to pensions and establishments must remain burthened with these charges; but as many of the pensions, etc., etc., will have lapsed, the Governor-General in Council considers that the income rising from such lapses may fairly be added to the surplus fund appropriable to general purposes. The expenses of the hospital will, however, remain a permanent charge under this head, but there appears to be an expense incurred for education at present which will be, of course, merged into the original fund.

"In pursuance of the principles above laid down, there remain at the disposal of Government for general purposes of a beneficent nature *first*, one-ninth of the annual income of the Zemindaries; *second*, the lapsed pension, etc., etc.,; and *third*, the entire amount arising from the interest of the accumulated fund now invested in promissory notes of the Government.

"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that, after setting apart from this last mentioned fund, such amount as may be necessary to provide appropriate buildings, including the charge of rebuilding or repairing the Imambarah and other religious edifices, if it should be found necessary to renew these, the entire remainder should be considered as a Trust Fund, the interest of which, with other items specified, may be appropriated to the purposes of education by the foundation of a collegiate institution imparting instructions of all kinds in the higher departments of education according to the principles heretofore explained.

"In this manner His Honour in Council conceives that the pious and beneficent purposes of the founder of the Hughli endowment will best be fulfilled, and under the latitude given for the determination of the specific uses to which any surplus funds of the estate are to be appointed, he cannot see that the assignment of the surplus which has arisen in this instance partly from the delay in consequence of litigation and partly from the fines realised from the mode of management adapted to purposes of education in the manner stated, will be any deviation from the provision of the deed."



Rs. 57,000 a year, is held to be at the disposal of Government as successor to the managers appointed by the founder."

This fund was originally applied to the foundation and support of the Hughli College,* affiliated to the Calcutta University, and open to members of all religious communities. The building was erected, about the beginning of the last century, by General Perron, a French adventurer, who had amassed a large fortune in the service of the Mahratta Chief, Scindia. On the death of the "General," it was purchased by Prankishen Haldar, a wealthy resident of the place, who used it as a pleasure resort. Prankishen fell on evil days and lost his wealth. The building changed hands and came into the possession of the "Sil" family of Chinsurah,† from whom it was purchased, for the College, by the General Committee of Public Instruction, then presided over by Thomas Babington Macaulay, for a comparatively small sum of money. The College had also the rare good fortune of being presided over for a long time by a succession of eminent scholars and educationalists, amongst whom were Thomas Alexander Wise, James Sutherland, Leonidas Clint, Moulvie Obaidullah-al-Obaidi, Captain D. L. Richardson, and James Kerr. The College was opened on the 1st August 1836, and within three days counted 1,200 pupils in the English, and 300 in the Oriental Department, the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus being 31 to 948 in the former, and 138 to 81 in the latter. "To this arrangement the objection was raised that an institution, almost exclusively frequented by Hindus, was not the most suitable recipient of the income of a distinctively Mahomedan Endowment," and chiefly on the representations of Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E., that distinguished Educationalist and reformer, the Government of Sir George Campbell,‡ by a Resolution, dated the 29th July 1873, decided that "the fund should be used exclusively for the promotion of Education among Mahomedans, the Hughli College being maintained from other sources."

The Government—after discontinuing the maintenance, out of the Mohsin Endowment Fund, of the Hughli College—divided the educational part of the said fund into two portions: one appropriated for the maintenance of the Madrassahs at Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Hughli, where orthodox Arabic education is imparted; and the other, towards aiding Mahomedan students in pursuing a course of instruction in *any* English School or College

* This institution for about 40 years almost exclusively enjoyed the bounty of the Mohsin Endowment, and reared up a host of brilliant men who distinguished themselves in various walks of life, and left their mark on their respective generations. Mr. Dwarkanath Mitter and Syed Amir Ali, who rose to be distinguished Judges of the Calcutta High Court, both received their collegiate education at the Hughli College.

† Vide *A Sketch of Haji Md. Mohsin* by Saroda P. Dey in *Reis and Rayyet* (1900).

‡ Vide *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 528.

(in Bengal) by contributing *two-thirds* of their fees out of it. This arrangement has proved extremely beneficial to the Mahomedan community.*

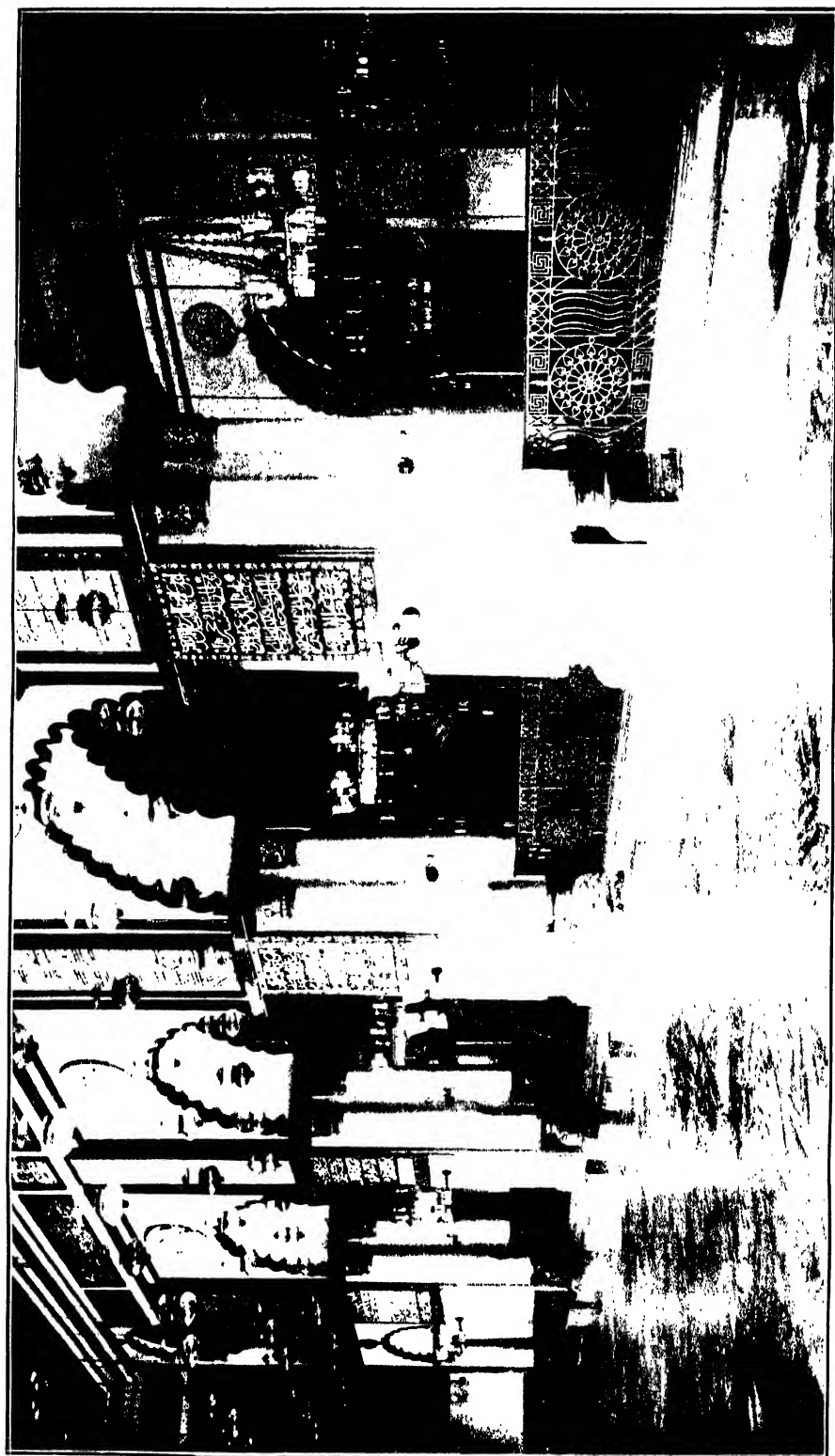
The mambarah at Hughli demands some notice in a paper professing to give an account of Haji Mohsin, who made ample provision, in his will, for its continued maintenance. The Imambarah is "a superb structure, stately and majestic, in which grandeur is happily wedded to beauty." As has already been mentioned, it was originally established by Agha Motaher. His nephew and son-in-law, Mirza Salahuddin, improved it at great cost, and it was subsequently further improved and enlarged at a cost of over two lakhs of rupees which were paid out of the Mohsin Fund when it had been taken charge of by the Government. James Kerr, "a man of æsthetic perception," while Principal of the Hughli College, often visited the Imambarah at the invitation of the Mutawalli who was a friend of his. In his excellent work, *The Land of Ind*, Kerr gives his impressions of the Imambarah which will, no doubt, be read with interest: "A mosque is now building at this place (Hughli), and is nearly finished, which promises to surpass anything of the kind in the vicinity of Calcutta. Some who have seen the beautiful mosque on the citadel of Cairo consider this not a whit inferior to it. A remarkable feature is the amount of ornamentation and minute carving. All over the building likewise may be seen texts of the Quran, painted in large and beautiful characters on the more conspicuous parts of the structure."

To recall what a gifted writer has said of another fine edifice in a different part of India—"Piety its Inspiration: Beauty its Architect."

We have seen the deputation in 1818, by Government, of Syed Ali Akbar to be the Mutawalli of the Imambarah. He served in that capacity for about 24 years and was succeeded by Moulvie Zamiruddin Khan, *alias* Miru Mia, who served for about ten months but with much credit. Syad Keramat Ali, the next Mutawalli, was a Saddar Amin of Jaunpore. He was a man of sound scholarship and real merit. He made many improvements in the Imambarah and retired on pension after serving Government for a period of about forty years with much ability and success. Khan Bahadur Syad Ashrafuddin Ahmad, the present Mutawalli, was appointed by Government to succeed him in 1875. He is the eldest son of the late Nawab Amir Ali Khan Bahadur, and has proved himself a competent and popular incumbent.

It only remains for us to offer a tribute of respect and admiration to the memory of Haji Mahomed Mohsin. He was a man of innate benevolence and real piety, and Mannu Jan Khanum could not have found a worthier, abler, or more magnanimous custodian of her enormous fortune. It has been well said that the key-note of all his actions was love of man. This should

* Vide *The Present Condition of the Indian Mahomedans, etc.* By Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E. : Calcutta : Stanhope Press : 1883.



have been his epitaph, and no one need wish for a better. "Great men," it has been said, "never die." Their example and their life-works live after them. On the occasion of the recent celebration of the centenary of the Mohsin endowment, the foundation-stone of a dome canopy was laid over his grave in the lovely *Makbara* garden on the right bank of the Hughli. This mark of homage, however graceful, is not the fittest memorial which might perpetuate his name. The tomb of Haji Mohsin, as was aptly remarked, requires no canopy, however costly it may be. The gratitude and prayers of thousands who have been benefited by his charities have formed, and will always form, a canopy over his hallowed grave. By his own deeds he raised unto himself a noble and enduring monument. The life and example of such a man as Haji Mohsin are a national inheritance and an inspiration for his countrymen.

SYUD HASSAIN.



A Note on Bansberia.*

ITS RAJ, ITS TEMPLES, ITS MISSIONS AND SCHOOLS.



THE family history of the Bansberia Raj dates back behind the eleventh century to the days when a leader of the Dutt family, who, to escape persecution, had exchanged the Kshetrya or warrior caste for that of Srikorons and Utterrari Kayasthas or penman, moved from Kanouj to Bengal. The grandson of the pilgrim, Devaditya, flourished in the days when King Ballala Sen was propagating the system of Kulinism about which Mr. Oman and certain distinguished retired civil servants have of late had so much to say. "Devaditya," writes the historian of the family, "opposed the measure. He had a keen foresight, and he clearly saw that this system of *Kulinism* would at a distant future undermine the whole social organisation. Hindu society, after the lapse of eight centuries and a half, has thoroughly understood the evil effects of *Kulinism* as it exists at present. Not a day passes in which Ballala Sen is not cursed for the system by the abandoned wives of savage men—the so-called Kulin Brahmins, with whom marriage has become an article of trade. Devaditya raised his voice against this favourite hobby of Ballala. There is a tradition that Ballala tried every means to win Devaditya over to his side by offering to his family a high order of Kulinism, which he boldly refused to accept."

Buran Dutt, fifth in descent from Devaditya, moved the family residence from Nadia to a place in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad which become known as Duttabati, or house of the Dutt. Dwarikanath, fourteenth in descent, to avoid Mahomedan persecution, retreated to Patuli in the Burdwan district. His grandson and great grandson rose into high favour under Akbar's tolerant rule. Under Shah Jehan favours fell heavily upon Raghob, the nineteenth in the line of descent from Devaditya. It was Raghob Rai who selected Bansberia as the future home of his family, and, although he paid frequent visits to the old palace at Patuli—the ruins of which have only in recent years been lost in the river, the Dutt family began to split up and plant themselves out in different places on the right hand side of the river.

The name Bansberia has been by most English writers explained as "Bansbati" or the "place of Bamboos," but it would seem that the name actually given by Raghob Dutt to his clearing in the dense jungle was

* This article is based on a number of interesting pamphlets. The writer of this note, however, is not to be held responsible for the accuracy of any particular statement.



THE SANAD CONFERRING THE HEREDITARY TITLE OF MAHASAI GRANTED
BY AURANGZEEB IN 1673 A. D.
(By the Courtesy of the Banskheria Raj brothers.)

Bangshabati, or "house of a noble family." If Raghob was the founder, it was his son Rameswar who made Bansberia a place of Hindu light and leading. It is said that he brought to live there no less than 360 families of Brahmins and many families of Kayasthas, Kshetrya and Baidya castes, and Mahomedans as well. Rameswar was, in particular, a great patron of those Sanskrit studies which at the present day are so much neglected. From Benares he brought famous pundits, and he founded tols or Sanskrit Colleges within his rising township. In 1673 he received a *sanad* from Aurangzib, a photographic reproduction of which we are enabled by courtesy of the Raj brothers to use in the present issue of this *Journal*. The *sanad* is thus translated :—



"TO RAJAH RAMESWAR RAI,

" MAHASHAI,

" PERGUNNAH ARSHA, SIRCAR SATGONG.

" As you have promoted the great interest of Government in getting "possession of Pergunnahs and making assessments thereof, and as you have "performed with care whatever services were entrusted to you, you are entitled 'to reward. The Khilat of Punj Percha (five dresses of honour) and the title "of 'Rajah Mahashai' are therefore given to you in recognition thereof, "to be inherited by the eldest children of your family, generation after generation, without being objected to by any one. 10 Safar, 1090 Hijri."

It was Rajah Rameswar who constructed the deep moat which we examined on our recent expeditions, and which encloses about 401 bighas of land. Within this moat he constructed a fort in order to secure himself and his people from attacks of the Bhonsla Mahrattas: Pathans and Hindu soldiers were engaged to watch the cannon-clad ramparts. In the deeply interesting *Family History of the Bansberia Raj* we are told that, this fortification led to the residence being called Gurbati, and that "at Benipur in the 24-Pergunnahs there is also a place surrounded by a trench, called Gurbati, where there was a house built by Rajah Nrisinghadeb, and noted for its artistic workmanship."

To Rameswar is to be assigned the building of the Vishnu Temple, which with its quaint bas-reliefs in brickwork struck the attention of our pilgrims

To duly appreciate the work would require months of patient study. Some of us on our way to the Gurbati took note of two ancient temples by the roadside, they most probably belong to Rameswar's day. A slab of stone on the terrace of the shrine bears the following inscription in ancient Bengali characters :—

महोद्योगाङ्गव्रीतनसुगणिते ब्रह्मवत्सरे ।

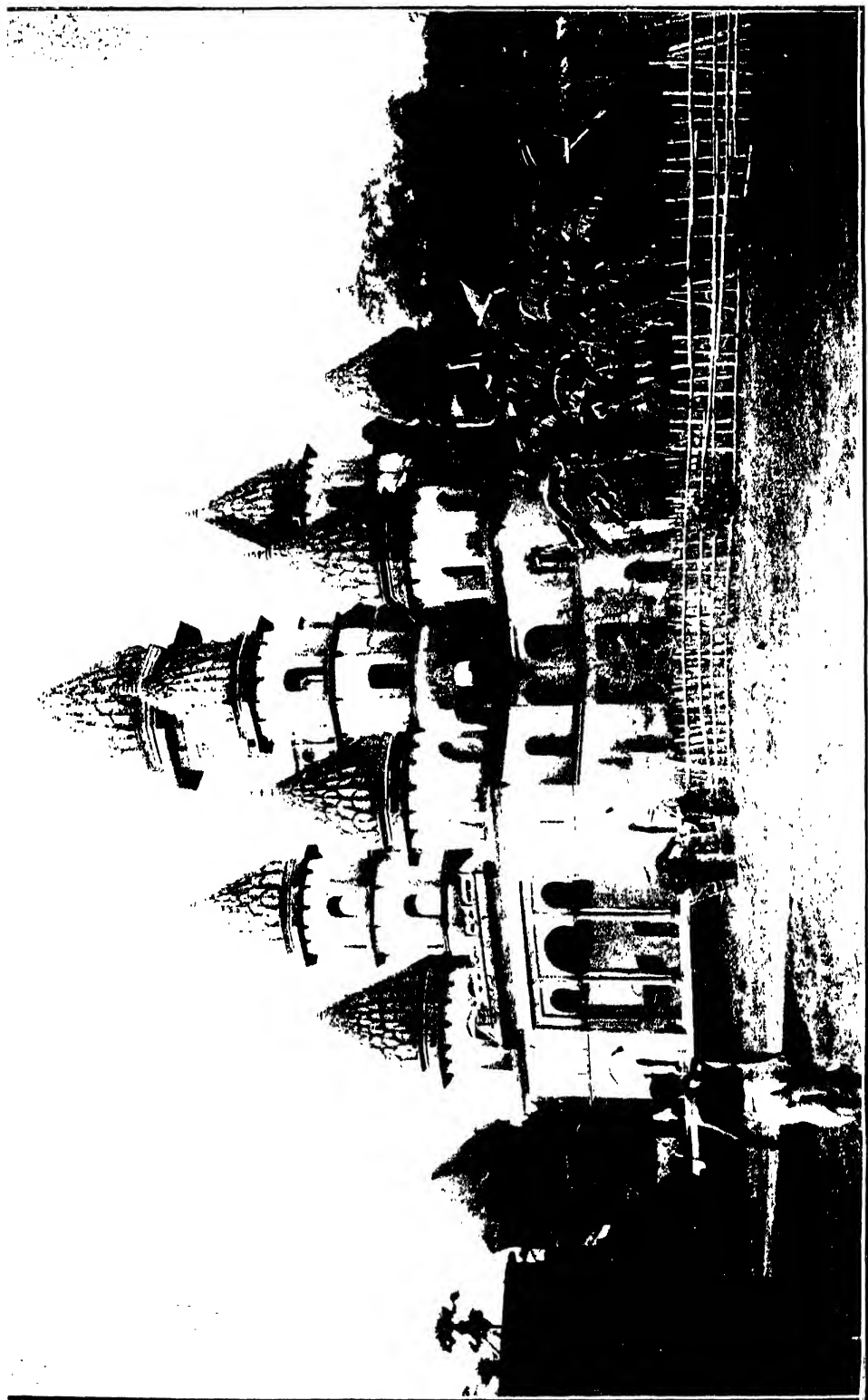
श्रीरामेश्वरदत्तेन निर्ममे विष्णुमन्दिरं ॥ १६०१

The Bansberia Vishnu shrine apparently was dedicated in the year 1679 of the Christian era or nearly twenty years before the "mid-day halt of Charnock."

When Rameswar passed to sleep with his fathers, he was succeeded by his son Roghudeb Rai Mahashai. [Here it may be explained Mahashai means Mahan great, and Ashai heart, therefore Mahashai—"great-hearted"—a title which few families in the world so well deserves.] The Hindu persecuting Murshid Kuli Khan, touched by Roghudeb's self-sacrifice on behalf of a revenue defaulter, conferred on the Bansberia family the hereditary title of "Sudramani" or "Lord of the Sudras." If tradition may be trusted, Roghudeb inflicted on the Mahrattas a night attack from the fastness of Bansberia, so successful in its issue that the Mahrattas "were never again seen in this part of the country."

Rajah Nrisinghadeb Rai Mahashai, Roghudeb's grandson, was perhaps the most remarkable man of his race. His father died three months before he was born, and five months after his birth the Nawab permitted one of his favourites (April 1741) to take forcible possession of the vast Mahashai inheritance, the Zemindari of Kulihandia alone being preserved for the maintenance of the helpless infant. For an account of Nrishingha's early days we may lay the family history under contribution :—

"There was no settled form of government. Bengal was then in a state of utter confusion. The throne of the Nawab was trembling in the balance. The English were daily growing into influence and power. In fact, Bengal was then passing through a state of transition. Nrishingha, in his early boyhood, was put under an eminent Sanskrit scholar and a Moulavi well-versed in Persian and Arabic, which were the court languages of the time. Nrishingha had extraordinary parts in him. By dint of perseverance and energy he mastered all these languages within a very short time. Henceforth he began to give proofs of his future greatness and excellence. Unlike youths of his age, he did not become pleasure-seeking. He became austere and rigid in his principles. He was calm and considerate. He had an intelligent face, but a dark and melancholy brooded over it. The whole bent of his mind was directed to find out means for the restoration of



the zemindary, which for centuries had been under the ancestors of Nrishingha, and which suddenly, through no fault of his own, passed into other hands. Nrishingha could do nothing till the 38th year of his age, as there was no settled form of government at the time. During this stage of his life, Bengal virtually passed into the hands of the English with Warren Hastings as its Governor-General. Nrishingha applied to Hastings for the recovery of his lost estate. Hastings ordered an enquiry, the result of which showed that a gross act of injustice had been done to Nrishingha. Whereupon, in 1779, the Governor-General restored to Nrishingha those Pergunnahs of his ancestral estate that fell strictly within the jurisdiction of the English in the 24-Pergunnahs. The annual income of the Zemindary was a little over two lakhs of rupees."

Nrishingha, we are informed, was a skilful musician, poet and painter. He it was who constructed the causeway which leads across the moat, and planted an avenue of vakul trees, some 250 yards in length, which by the interlacing of their boughs formed "an arched roof of foliage" over the road leading to the Royal Gate. In 1788 he constructed the little temple dedicated to the goddess Swambhaba. A stone attached to the temple bears the following inscription :—

पाशाचलेन्दु सम्पूने शाके श्रीमत्सयम्भवा
रेजे तत् श्रीगुह्यं श्रीनिधिं देवदत्ततः ॥

Nrishingha designed and commenced the great temple of Hamsesvari, but the building had gone no further than the second storey at the time of his death (1802). His first wife, we are told, "wilfully threw herself on the funeral pile of her husband and burnt herself to death," but the Rani Sunkari, whom Nrishingha had married in 1785, in obedience to her husband's commands, lived on in order to complete the shrine and to watch over the interests of the family estate. The family biographer has much to say on the score of the Rani's almost virile abilities and orthodox religious observance. She died in October 1852, and it is worth while recollecting that she was the widow of a man who must have well remembered Seraj-ud-daula's march on Calcutta and Clive's feats at Plassey and Chandernagore. A thoroughfare at Kalighat commemorates her name to this day.

In 1814 the Hamsesvari temple was completed and it is estimated by recent writers to have cost five lakhs of rupees. Our illustrations will give a better idea of the temple than can be easily and with justice conveyed by words. As it is almost certain that members of our Society who were unable to accompany us on November 6 last will demand an opportunity of visiting Bansberia I prefer giving them a description which is the work of a professional

archæologist to attempting an original description of my own. Mr. P. C. Mookherji writes:—

“It is a large temple, cruciform in plan and six storeys in height, having thirteen cupolas, of which the central one is the highest. The next four cupolas occupy a middle height,—the lowest being the remaining eight, crowning the corners of the four transepts or verandahs.

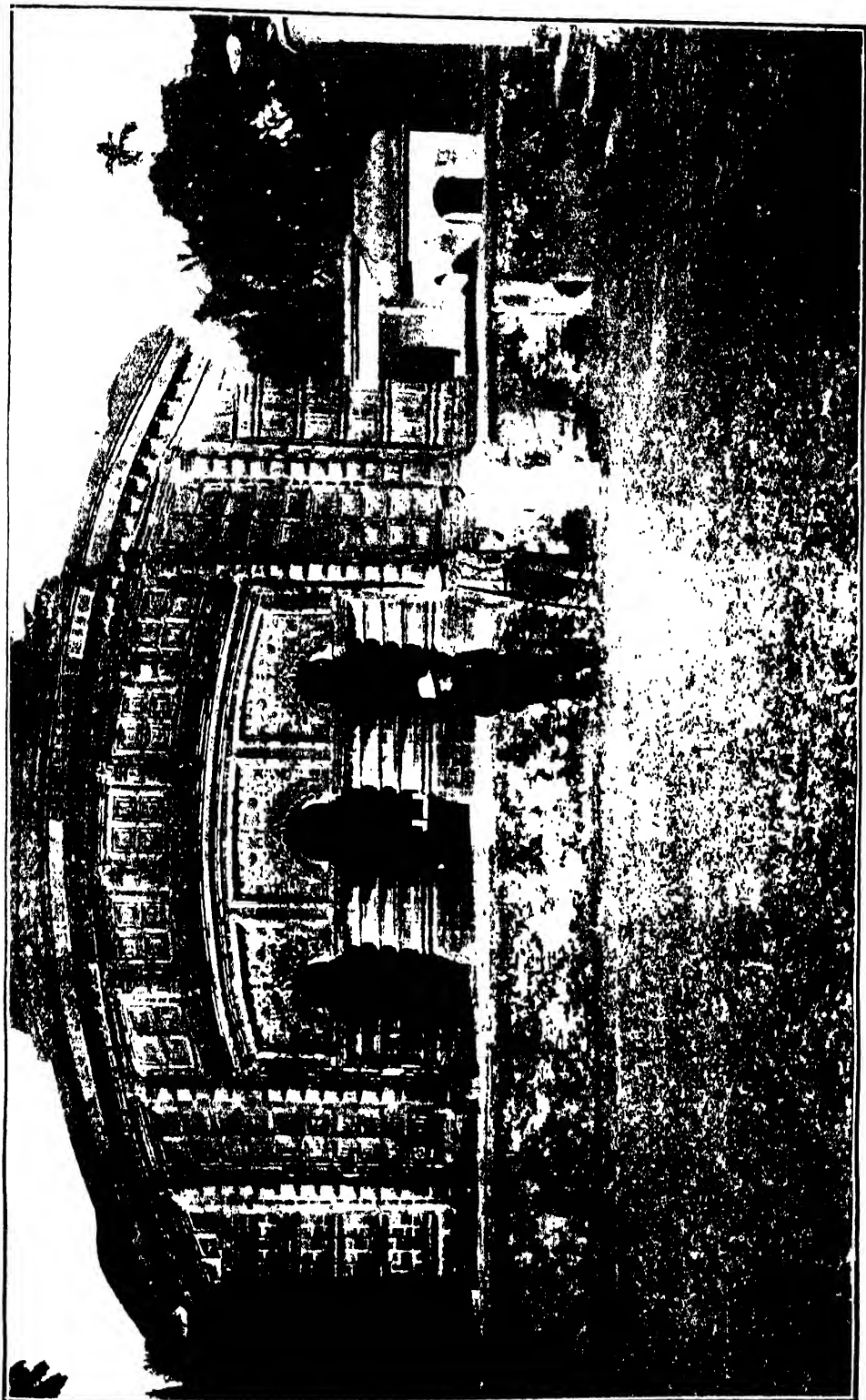
“The central square block in the plan is 44-6 on each side, which length, being produced, makes the transepts about 17 feet wide on the four sides. The transept in the front or south side is called the *Nat-mandir* or, literally, dancing hall, 22-2½ by 21-10, the two ends being divided off each into three rooms for Lingas, the central being the side passage. The three transepts on the east, north and south are similarly treated into smaller rooms for a like purpose. The only difference is that they have parallel rooms, instead of open halls on the east and west, limited by the corner Linga Shrines. On the north the transept is divided by three staircases, one above the other, in the middle, which make two other long rooms at their flanks.

“The central block contains the shrine, circular in plan, which is roofed with a graceful dome, supported by pillars or rather pilasters at the corners of the octagon. On the *Vedi* or the circular platform is seated the goddess *Hamsesvari* on a lotus-flower, whose stalk springs from the navel of Siva, lying prostrate in a *Yantra* (geometrical figure) of triangles. The group of the image and the triangle is symbolical of the human heart, where the spirit of the God or Goddess is said to preside. In the same way the three staircases are susceptible of esoteric explanation, as representing the three *Narhies* or vital channels in the spinal chord.

“In the four corners of the circular shrine are triangular cells to make up the square of the central block. Above the shrine is another dome, octagonal in plan, enshrining a Linga. Up again is the third dome, subdivided into two storeys by a wooden floor. This dome is the highest, occupying the centre of the whole building.

“The eight corners of the four transepts are crowned by eight kiosks octagonal in plan, above the second storey. The inner block, above another two storeys, has four cupolas, which occupy an intermediate height between the lower eight and the uppermost dome. The dotted circles in the sketch-plan show the position of the twelve cupolas, the topmost making the thirteenth.

“The second storey is the repetition of the first in the distribution of the rooms. In the third, the transepts possess cupolas on the corners; but the central square block rises four storeys further up, with the corners projecting with cupolas. This central block has open verandahs, two storeys in height, of which the supporting columns are done in stone,





SUDRAMANI RAJAH NRISINHA DEB RAI MAHASAH.
(Phototype block kindly lent by Kumar Manindra Deb Rai Mahasah.)

"The domes are of conical form, not hemispherical; they are ornamented with leafy ornaments. The arches and walls are however of a plain style, not heightened by any ornament.

"The history of the temple is, that Raja Nrisingha Deb, who had lost in 1741 most of his landed properties, which were usurped by the Rajas of Burdwan and Nadia, went to Benares, where he lived for seven years, studying the Hindu scriptures and arts of the place. In December 1799 he returned to Bansberia and commenced building this grand temple. It was continued for three years, when he died, leaving the temple incomplete. But his wife, Rani Sankari, a very high-minded lady, continued the construction for twelve years more, finally dedicating the temple in 1814. In this work, Benares masons were employed; so the style of architecture is of that place. The vaults in the side rooms appear to be very boldly executed.

"Raja Nrisingha Deb appears to be of a very artistic turn of mind, not only he knew drawing and painting of a miniature kind, but was a poet and could sing well. Had he lived long enough, this grand temple would have been ornamented with a wealth of decorations, as exhibited in his own drawings, which I venture to designate as the *Grammar of Indian Ornaments* Mediaeval Period (Mogul and Hindu).*

The Bansberia Raj is at the present day represented by four cultured and public-minded brothers who well sustain the enlightened and liberal traditions of their race. On March 18, 1902, the brethren were visited by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the late Sir John Woodburn, and if the Bansberia Raj appreciated the honour paid them, we may feel quite sure that Sir John was as much interested in what he saw as we were on the occasion of our expedition of November 6.

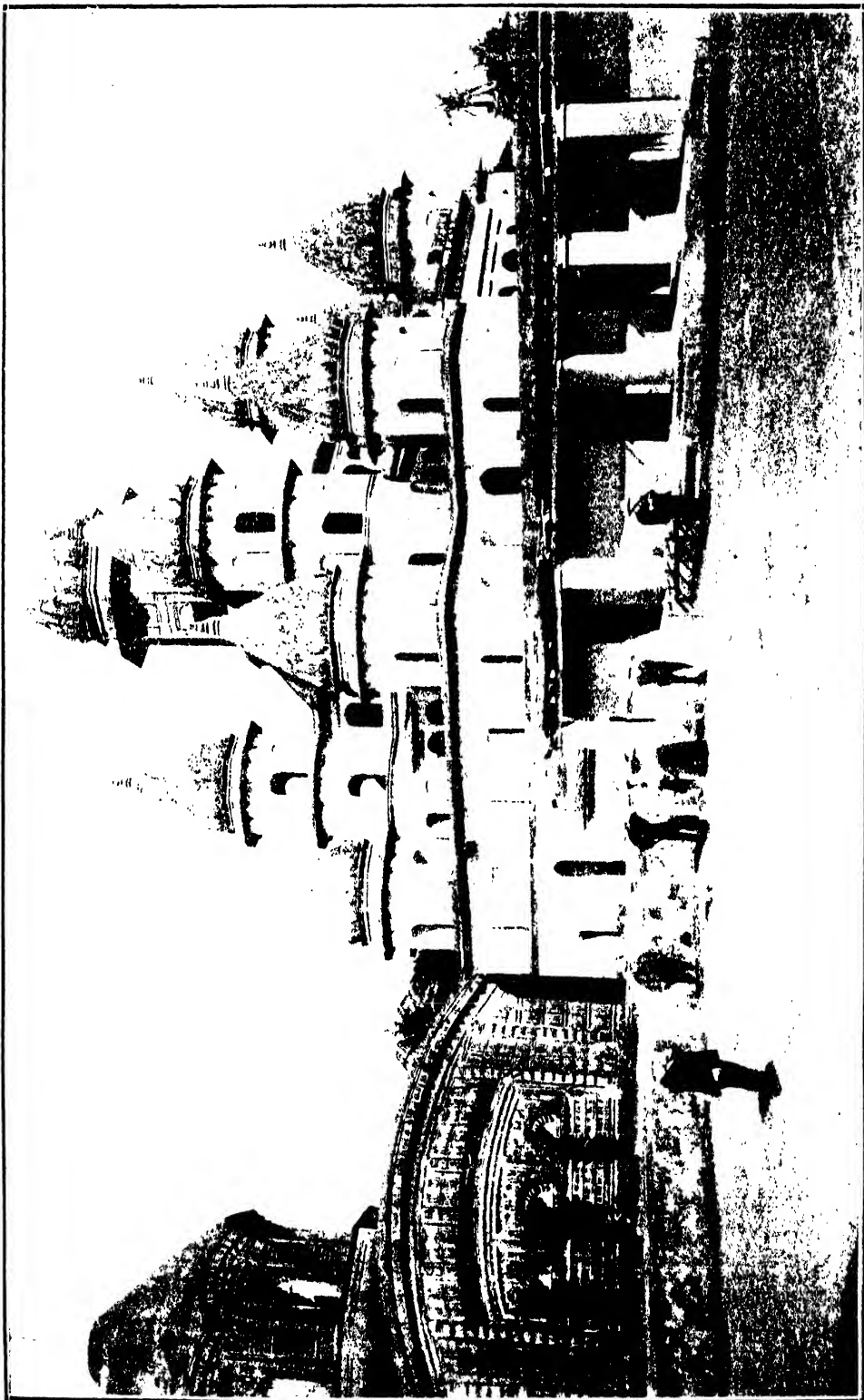
The central door of the Hamsesvari Temple was opened for us and through it we could see in the deep shade the effigy of the goddess. In the official *List of Ancient Monuments*, published by the Public Works Department of the Bengal Government, the image is said to be "made of black-stone;" it is, as a matter of fact, made of *nim* wood and is painted blue. In the same list the image is said to represent "a form of Kali with her hair unbraided." We learn on the best authority that "the hair of the goddess remains braided all the year, except on the night of the Kali Pujah." The official P.W.D. account has almost as many errors as it has sentences.

Bansberia has some very memorable associations but none better worth recalling than that of "the Bayard of India," the great Sir James Outram, and his "Sindh blood money." When the Society revisits Bansberia, we must go in search of the ruins of an old indigo factory on the river banks. Mr. Bowers tells us that it was this very factory which formed the scene

* It was exhibited at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on February 5, 1902.

of Mitter's once sensational *Nil Durpan*, the translation of which cost the Rev. James Long a month in the Presidency Jail, for the fine of Rs. 1,000 was paid for him by a wealthy Hindu gentleman.* And close to the river is the schoolhouse erected by Dr. Duff. "The story of Bansberia," writes Dr. G. Smith, "illustrates the enthusiasm with which, not only in Calcutta, but to the furthest confines of India, good men, in the army and the civil service, sought to mark their sympathy with the Free Church Christian Mission. On being driven from Ghaspara, where the two ablest converts had begun a mission among the new sect of Khurta-bhagas, or worshippers of the Creator, with such promise, Dr. Duff resolved to seek for a settlement in another country.....He crossed the river Hooghly to its right bank, leaving the whole country on the left to the Established Church [of Scotland]. A few miles to the north of the country town of the Hooghly district, between that and Culna, he discovered the schoolhouse of the Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, closed and for sale. Dwarkanath Tagore, the successor of Ram-mohun Roy, had died in England, and his son was unable to maintain the educational work of the sect. The perpetual lease of the grounds as well as the large bungalow was purchased by Dr. Duff, whose first object it was to erect substantial buildings for a Christian high school. For this there were no funds since the expenditure at Ghaspara.....It was Sir James, then Major, Outram who came to the rescue. The first Afghan war had been succeeded by the even greater mistake of the policy of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh. The man who had written 'We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and human piece of rascality it will be,' received six thousand pounds as the General's portion of the prize-money. The Bombay officer, who had protested against the 'rascality,' whose splendid administration of Sindh would have prevented war and secured a reformed country, had assigned to him three thousand pounds as his share. What was he to do with it? Though a Derbyshire man, three years older than Duff, as a great-grandson of Lord Pitmedden and a successful student of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Outram had watched the Scottish missionary's career with admiration. The puzzled officer turned to him for counsel as to the disposal of the money, begging him in particular to ascertain privately if the Calcutta authorities would keep the three thousand pounds for the benefit of the injured Ameers. We may imagine the amazement and indignation of Lord Ellenborough at a proposal so simple but so worthy of the 'Bayard of India' and of the single-eyed missionary whom he had selected as his agent in so unique a transaction. The reply was, of course, a refusal on the ground that the Ameers had been well provided for, and that the offer, if it became public, would have the

*See Cotton : *Calcutta New and Old*, pp. 216-217.



most political effect. The fact, accordingly, we have now for the first time from Dr. Duff's papers. When he communicated the refusal, Outram replied : ' Very well it cannot be helped ; I regard this prize simply as blood-money, and will not touch a farthing of it for my own personal use, but will distribute it among the philanthropic and religious charities of Bombay.' Soon after this Sir James wrote to Dr. Duff saying, that after a wide distribution of what he called blood-money, there still remained Rs. 6,000, and he asked : ' Have you any object on the banks of the Ganges to which this can be profitably applied ? ' Instantly Dr. Duff replied ' Oh, yes, I want an educational institution in a popular locality on the banks of the river in an excellent situation, and have been writing a considerable time to secure the means of erecting a suitable building. Now singularly enough the minimum sum fixed on in my own mind was exactly Rs. 6,000, and if you approve the idea you may send that sum to me and we shall commence at once the erection of the building.' *

The mission school was erected, but although in 1879, Dr. Smith wrote, " the building still perpetuates the political purity and English uprightness of Outram," yet, as a matter of fact, the school had ended its existence in the year previous to the publication of the *Life of Dr. Duff*. On January 14, 1881, the late Rajah Poornendu Deb Rai Mahasai opened an English High School, but outbreak of malarial fever compelled the school to close its doors. In 1893 the present Bansberia English High School, also founded by the late Rajah, was opened, and before us lies a pleasantly written report which serves to show how useful this excellent institution has been to the neighbourhood. Bansberia also enjoys the possession of a public library due to the munificence of its Raj.

It may be here set on record that Bansberia was the scene of a Christian Mission prior to the coming of Dr. Duff, as the following quotation from the *Calcutta Review* will show :—

" Bansberia, or Bansbati, *i.e.*, the place of bamboos, famous for the temple of the goddess Hamseshari, with its 13 pinnacles and 13 images of Shiva erected 50 years ago by Rani Sankari Dasi, the wife of Nisinga Deva Ray (*sic*) : it cost a lakh of rupees, and she had it surrounded with a trench and four pieces of cannon mounted upon it : when the Mahrattas came near Tribeni the people fled to this house for protection. On the festival of Hameshrari, the Rani used to invite pandits from all the neighbouring country, Calcutta and Nadiya. This temple occupies 15 acres. At Bansberia there were formerly 12 or 14 tols, where Naya or Logic were read, but Sanskrit studies are on the decline there. The Tatwabohdini Sabha had formerly a flourishing English school of 200 boys at Bansberia, established 1843, but some of the boys embracing Vedantism, their parents became alarmed lest they should forsake

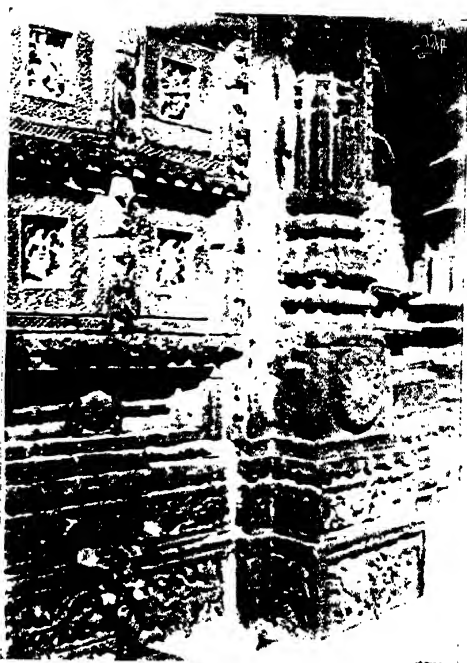
* G. Smith : *Life of Dr. Duff*. Vol. ii, pp. 47-50.

Puranism and they withdrew many of them; the members of the Sabha thought that Bansberia being an eminent seat of Hindu learning presented a more favourable opening for schools than Calcutta, but Puranism and Vedantism being antagonistic, the success of the school has been retarded. A tiger was seen near it in 1830; he killed four ryots: old persons still remember the time when the Satgan district was infested with tigers and when rewards used to be offered from the Collector's Office at Hughli for killing them. Tarachand, a native Christian, resided at Bansberia; he was led to enquire respecting Christianity from simply reading a New Testament. The first native church was formed at Bansberia under Tarachand, who was a well-informed man and spoke English, French, and Portuguese with fluency."

W. K. F.



THE ROYAL GATEWAY.
(Woodcut kindly lent by
K. or Manindra Deb Rai Mahapatra.)



SPECIMEN OF BAS RELIEFS IN BRICK WORK ON
THE FAÇADE OF VISHNU TEMPLE.
(Phototype block kindly lent by K. or
Manindra Deb Rai Mahapatra.)

Beilung:

[illegible]

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



THE Society will, I am sure, forgive me for having put them to some expense in procuring a photographic reproduction of the page of the register of St. Mary's, Fort St. George, on which the entry of the Baptism of Job Charnock's three daughters appear. Thanks to the courtesy of the Rev. C. F. Breay, the Chaplain of Fort St. George, Messrs. Weile and Klein, the well-known Madras photographers, were given access to the records, and, considering the antiquity of the document, a very satisfactory result has been obtained. I may say that copies of the photograph can be obtained from me at a cost of Rs. 3-8-0 each by members of the Society or Rs. 4 by non-members. The Chaplain who baptised the Charnock girls was the famous John Evans, afterwards Bishop of Bangor and latterly Bishop of Meath, the premier Bishopric of Ireland. Evans and his wife accompanied Job Charnock after the abandonment of Hughli, took part in the perilous and gallant occupation of malarious Hijili and after a brief return to Sutanuti, and then fared to Madras with Charnock's party, when old Job was superseded by Captain Heath. It was while Job was waiting for the opportunity of his final return to Bengal that his daughters were baptised by his old friend Chaplain Evans. The Padre did not accompany Charnock on the latter's return, but remained at Madras for some time, and devoted himself so much to the commercial interests of certain adventurers, who were seriously challenging the Company's monopoly, that he is actually described by the Court as "the quondam minister but late great merchant." In 1693 the Madras Council warned Sir John Goldsborough that Evans was once more on his way to Sutanuti (Calcutta) "justly suspecting the buissey pollitick Padre goes on ill designs, to the prejudice of the Rt. Hon'ble Company's affairs." Nearly everything that is likely to be known to history about Padre Evans, one of the few Welsh-speaking Welsh Bishops of the eighteenth century, and, as his vanished epitaph once described him—"in ethnicis venerabilis," has been told us by Chaplain Hyde in his *Parish Church of Bengal* and his more elaborate *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. A portrait of the Bishop has been smiling down, in gentle greatness, over the meetings of our Executive Committee held in the Vestry Room of St. John's Church.

Of the Charnock girls be it remembered—

(1) Mary married Charles Eyre and died on February 19, 1698. Charles Eyre was the next successor but one to Job, and it was, in all probability, he who built the Charnock Mausoleum. The slab which bears Job's epitaph also bears that of Mary, but writes Chaplain Hyde:—

"A close inspection of this slab and comparison of the lettering of the two inscriptions make it abundantly plain that they are not contemporaneous works, but that the lower half of the slab has been purposely left blank to receive such an inscription as it now exhibits. Thus the Mausoleum with originally one epitaph must have been completed some time prior to the year 1697, and the addition made to it prior to the early part of 1698, when Mr. Eyre returned home, for it is to be presumed, from the terms of the epitaph, that he was at the time he was written actually 'prefect to the English.' It is true that he returned in 1700 and for a few months resumed his former charge, but it was with the title of knighthood, which does not distinguish his name in the epitaph." The inscription is as follows:—

Pariter Jacet

MARIA, JOBI PRIMOGENITA, CAROLI EYRE ANGLORUM HICCE, PRÆFECTI CONJUX CHARISSIMA, QUÆ OBIIT 19 DIE FEBRUARII A.D. 1698.

(2) Elizabeth. She married William Bowridge, and was living in Calcutta within two years of the tragedy of the Black Hole. Jonathan White bequeathed her and her daughter—also an Elizabeth—Rs. 50 for memorial rings, and concluded his will "that my daughter Katharine be sent for England for education with good attendance and provision for soe tender an infant the voyage, and that the executors accept of soe good an opportunity to accompany her aunt Bowridge, if she goes for England in two years time, otherwise that the child goe by such good commanders of a ship as my Executor shall see fitting, others if it shall please God the child arrive in England is to be committed to my Couzin Mary Hungerford and my brothei, to whose care and guardianship jointly with my brother William White I recommend the child during her marage." The date of this will is November 14, 1704, but among the passengers carried by the *Heathcote* from Bengal in January 1715 is to be found "Mrs. Elizabeth and Sarah Bowridge as per order of the Court 24th December 1714." Elizabeth had a son named William on whose behalf Sir Charles Eyre wrote from Kew:—

TO HONBLE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF EAST INDIA COMPANY,

"GENTLEMEN,

My indisposition hinders me from coming to sign as one of the securitys

* In 1710 the Court returned to India "a black woman late servant to Mr. Bowridge deceased." Hyde, however, dates Bowridge's death 16th April 1734. (*Parochial Annals*, p. 45).



for my nephew William Bowridge but I do promise to do it when I am well enough to come to town.

CUE GREEN,
April 25th, 1721.

CHARLES EYRE.

(3) Katherine. She is buried in St. John's Churchyard her epitaph reads as follows :—

Hic Jacet.
CATHERINA WHITE,
Domini Jonathani White, uxor dilectissima et
Τοῦ Μακαρίτου Job Charnock
filia natu minima :
quæ primo in partu et ætatis flore
Annum ægeus unum de viginte,
Mortem obiit heu ! immaturam 21 Januarii, 1709,
Siste parumper, Christiane Lector,
(vel quis quis es tandem) et mecum defle,
Duram sexus muliebris sortem
Qui per elapsa tot annorum milla
Culpam prim' Ævæ luit Parentis
et luet usque dum æternum stabit,
"In dolore paries filios"—Genesis III. 16.

By the courtesy of Mr. W. R. Steele we have been able to secure photo-type pictures of the two ancient punkah frames which hang in Warren Hastings' old town-house, No. 7, Hastings Street, now the office of Messrs. Burn & Co. Miss Blechynden in her *Calcutta Past and Present* (p. 98) describes the punkhas "as a quaintly painted in crimson and gold stranded waifs of the tide of fashion which once filled the old house with its flood." On the subject of punkhas, the reader will scarcely need to be reminded of the interesting article on the word "punkah" in Mr. William Crooke's edition (1903) of Sir Henry Yule's and A. C. Burnell's *Hobson Jobson*.

It has been suggested to me that it would be well from time to time to devote a page or so to historical autographs. By way of an early beginning, I give here a facsimile of the signatures of Job Charnock and his Council. The whole letter, dated "Hughly the 7th July 1686" is reproduced in Sir Henry Yule's edition of *Hedges' Diary*. It was addressed to "Mr. Fittzhugh &ca., Council at Ballasore."

whether you are willing to be cut or not, but as for us, should they offer any such thing, we should cut their throats. Not else but we are

Your affectionate friends

Ed. Charnock
 R. M. C. &
 Sam. Griffith
 Th. Trenchard
 Th. Ley
 Dr. Labouchere

IN our last issue more than one allusion was made to the "poetic epitaph" to the memory of John Townsend, "a Pilot of the Ganges." This "epitaph" serves to illustrate the parrot-like fashion in which local fictions are handed down from one generation to another. Be it remembered that the Charnock Mausoleum was not built until some years after old Job's death, and the absurdity of the following quotations will be manifest:—

1. *The Bengal Obituary* (1851): "Before or about the year 1678-79, Mr. Charnock, smitten with the charms of a young and beautiful Hindu, who

decked with her most pompous ornaments, and arrayed in her finest drapery, was at the point of sacrificing an innocent life of (perhaps) fifteen summers on the altar of Paganism, directed his guards to seize the half unwilling victim; the obedient guards rescued her from an untimely death, and Charnock softly conducted her to his house. They lived together many years. She bore to him several children, and, dying shortly after the foundation of his new city, was entered at the Mausoleum, which to this day stands entire and is the oldest piece of masonry in Calcutta." The writer then goes on to tell us, on Hamilton's authority, of Job's yearly sacrifice of a fowl at the (non-existent) Mausoleum.

2. H. James Rainey in his *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta* (1876) repeats the rescue-from-Sati tradition and adds: "She died before him, and her remains were interred in the family vault in St. John's churchyard, where, says Captain Hamilton, her husband used to sacrifice a fowl on the anniversary of her death. There appears to be good foundation for this tale, and the forcible rescue of the pretty widow is strangely corroborated by an allusion to it in another epitaph, which used to be in the same place, on the tombstone of 'Joseph Townsend, a Pilot of the Ganges.' This epitaph is altogether so quaint that we cannot resist the temptation of giving it as a curiosity to our readers. The poetic effusions in doggerel verse runs," etc., etc.

3. Thirdly, there comes Carey in his *Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*. (Ed., 1906, Vol. I, pp. 34-35.)

"On another epitaph, said to be found several years ago in the same place, on the tombstone of 'Joseph Townsend, a Pilot of the Ganges,' this romantic episode in the life of Charnock is most quaintly related. Although that tombstone bears a date subsequent to the seventeenth century, the 24th June 1738, yet, as it relates to Charnock, and is on the whole most curious we ought not to omit it here. The poetic effusion for it is in doggerel verse, proceeds in this wise:—

'I've slipped my cable, messmates, I'm dropping down with the tide;
I have my sailing orders while ye at anchor ride,
And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.

Shoulder to shoulder, Joe, my boy, into the crowd like a wedge!
Out with the hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge!
Cries Charnock, "Scatter the faggots? Double that Brahmin in two!
The tall pale widow is mine, Joe, the little brown girl's for you."

Young Joe (you're nearing sixty) why is your hide so dark!
Katie has fair soft blue eyes—who blackened yours? Why, hark!
The morning gun. Ho steady. The arquebuses to me;
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart as my lead doth sound the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide,
 Moor me close by Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride,
 My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you,
 Steady!—We steer for Heaven through scud drifts cold and blue."

4. H. E. A. Cotton *Calcutta: Old and New*, pp. 533-34. "The 'poetic epitaph' connected with the name of Joseph Townsend, the 'pilot of the Ganges,' whose tombstone is one of those placed around the Mausoleum, shows clearly that the tradition regarding the manner in which Charnock won his dusky bride had strong hold of Calcutta in a succeeding generation. The verses are well worthy of quotation, by reason of their corroboration, whether by accident or design, of the story told by Hamilton." The idea of a "corroboration," Mr. Cotton seems to have gathered from Rainey, but he alas! gives the verses, not as Rainey, but as Carey gives them. That is to say, verses two and three are sacrificed by Mr. Cotton. They are as follows:—

An Ashburnham! A Fairfax! Hark how the corslets ring!
 Why are the blacksmiths out to-day, beating those men, at the spring?
 Ho, Willie, Hob and Cuddie!—Bring out your boats amain,
 There's a great red pool to swim them o'er yonder in Deadman's Lane.

Nay do not cry sweet Katie—only a month afloat
 And then the ring and the parson, at Fairlight Church, my doat.
 The flower-strewn path—the Press Gang!—no I shall never see
 Her little grave where the daisies waive in the breeze on Fairlight Lee.

IT will not be forgotten that Mr. Rudyard Kipling in *The Light that Failed* has taken "the pilot of the Ganges" as on his strong pinions, *vide* Chapter VII:—

"Give us something else, Nilghai. You're in fine foghorn form to-night? Give us 'The Ganges Pilot:' you sang that in the square the night before El-Maghrib. By the way, I wonder how many of the chorus are alive to-night," said Dick.

"Torpenhow considered for a minute. By Jove! I believe only you and I. Raynor, Vickary and Deenes—all dead; Vincent caught smallpox in Cairo, carried it here and died of it. Yes, only you and I and the Nilghai."

"Umph! and yet the men here who've done their work in a well warmed studio all their lives, with a policeman at each corner, say *tha* I charge too much for my pictures."

"They are buying your work, not your insurance policies, dear child," said the Nilghai.

"I gambled with one to get at the other. Don't preach. Go on with the Pilot. Where in the world did you get that song?"

"On a tombstone," said the Nilghai. "On a tombstone in a distant land. I made it an accompaniment of bass cords."

"Oh, Vanity! Begin." And the Nilghai began :—

I have shipped my cable, messmates, I'm drifting down with the tide,
'I have my sailing orders, while ye at anchor ride.
And never on fair June morning have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience or better hope, or a heart more light and free.'

Shoulder to shoulder, Joe, my boy, into the crowd like a wedge.
Strike with the hangers, messmates, but do not cut with the edge,
Cries Charnock, 'Scatter the faggots, double that Brahmin in two,
'The tall pale widow for me, Joe, the little brown girl for you!'

Young Joe (you're nearing sixty), why is your hide so dark?
Katie has soft fair eyes, who blackened yours?—Why hark!

They were all singing now, Dick with the roar of the open sea about his ears as the deep bass voice let itself go.'

The morning gun—ho, steady! the arquebuses to me!
I ha' sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart as my lead doth sound the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges, etc., etc.

"Now what is there in that nonsense to make a man restless?" said Dick, hauling Binkie from his feet to his chest. "It depends on the man," said Torpenhaw.

THE tombstone from Townsend's grave, which has been built into the platform of the Charnock Mausoleum, has the following description :—

"Here lies the body of Joseph Townsend, Pilot of the Ganges, skilfull and industrious, a kind father and useful friend, who departed this life, the 26th June 1738, aged 85 years." This inscription occupies nearly two-thirds of the length of the stone and there is not the least trace of any obliteration of further words. Rainey notes that the inscription "does not appear in the *Bengal Obituary*, which shows that it was discovered some time after the date of that useful publication." The late Dr. C. R. Wilson identifies the Joseph Townsend of the epitaph with Josiah Townsend of the Consultations. In the Consultations, we read :—

"1704. February 3rd. An order is sent to Josiah Townsend to bring the *Anna ketch* up the Hughli to convey the goods of the new Company down to Fort William.

"1709. January 10th. Josiah Townsend having brought the Company's vessel (*Mary smack*) contrary to his orders received from us, and now having present occasion for him, think it convenient not to give him any bodily punishment; agreed that for the present we give him three months'

pay and return him with all expedition with the vessel into Ballasore road for fear the Company's shipping should be there and want one to bring them into the River."

It will be remembered that "Asiaticus" gives a marvellous account of the downfall of the steeple of old St. Anne's Church during the famous storm of 1737, and professes to have obtained it from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1738. H. James Rainey, in his *Historical and Topographical Sketch of Calcutta* (1876), serves up again the alleged quotation from the *Gentleman's Magazine* and W. H. Carey repeats it in his *Good Old Days of Honourable John Company* (Vol. I, pp. 37-38, Reprinted Edition), but ascribes it to the *Gentleman's Gazette*! Archdeacon Hyde (*Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 93-94) has been at pains to quote the *Gentleman's Magazine* did actually report, and we may place the genuine text beside the spurious:—

Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. VIII, 1738, The Quotation by "Asiaticus," Rainey and Carey.

p. 321.

"On 30th September last happened a furious hurricane in the Bay of Bengal, attended with a very heavy rain which raised 15 inches of water in 5 hours, and a violent earthquake which threw down abundance of houses and, as the storm reached 60 leagues up the river, it is computed that 20,000 ships, barks, sloops, boats, canoes, etc., have been cast away. A prodigious quantity of cattle of all sorts, a great many tigers and several rhinoceroses were drowned even a great many caymans were stifled by the furious agitation of the waters and an innumerable quantity of birds were beat down into the river by the storm. Two English ships of 500 tons were thrown into a village about 200 fathoms from the bed of the river Ganges, broke to pieces, and all the people drowned pell mell amongst the inhabitants and cattle. Barks of 60 tons were blown 2 leagues up the land over the tops of high trees. The

"In the night, between the 11th and 12th October, there happened a famous hurricane, at the mouth of the Ganges which reached 60 leagues up the river. There was at the same time a violent earthquake, which threw down a great many houses along the river side. In Galgotha, along a part belonging to the English, two hundred houses were throw down, and the high and magnificent steeple of the English Church sank into the ground without breaking. It is computed that 20,000 ships, barks, sloops, boat, canoes, etc., have been cast away. Of nine English ships then in the Ganges, eight were lost and most of the crew drowned. Barks of 60 tons were blown 2 leagues into the land, over the tops of high trees; of four Dutch ships in the river, three were lost with their men and cargoes. 300,000 souls are said to have perished. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges."

water rose in all 40 feet higher than usual. The English ships which drove ashore and broke to pieces were the *Decker*, *Devonshire*, and *Newcastle*, and the *Pelham* is missing. A French ship was drove on shore and bulged ; after the wind and water abated they opened the hatches and took out several bales of merchandize, etc., but the man who was in the hold to sling the bales suddenly ceased working nor by calling him could they get any reply, on which they sent down another but heard nothing of him, which very much added to their fear so that for some time no one would venture down ; at length one more hardy than the rest went down and became silent and inactive as the two former to the astonishment of all. They then agreed by lights to look down into the hold which had a great quantity of water in it and to their great surprise they saw a huge aligator stairing as expecting more prey. It had come in through a hole in the ship's side and it was with difficulty they killed it, when they found the three men in the creature's belly."

Archdeacon Hyde was, I believe, at one time extremely sceptical as to the cyclone of 1737, for he could find no mention made of it in the Company's records. But the reader has only to turn to Dr. Wilson's first article reprinted in *Bengal : Past and Present* or to the same writer's *Old Fort William*, Vol. I, pp. 149-154, to see that there cannot be the slightest doubt that the cyclone occurred on 30th September, and wrought untold havoc. It is noticeable that the genuine quotation makes no mention of the subsidence of the steeple of St. Anne's Church. For that episode, I must refer the reader to Archdeacon Hyde's conjectural explanation : "It is quite plain that the steeple was blow down and did not go to pieces in the fall. We may conjecture that it was a timber structure sheaved in copper or lead. The deluge of mud and wreckage washed over the settlement by the 40 feet tide when the

ebb of the Hughli had been forced back for four and twenty hours, may have partly conceded the prostrate spire, and so have given origin to the tradition that it sank into the ground. This legend may in turn have given rise to that of an earthquake having accompanied the cyclone." It is to be noted that the *Gentleman's Magazine* has not a word to say about the downfall of the steeple !

AFTER having given this spurious quotation, "Asiaticus" adds in a footnote :—

"Mr. Charles Weston, the son of the Recorder of the Mayor's Court, was born in Calcutta in 1731, in a house then opposite to where the Tiretta Bazaar now stands. He recollects the great storm and inundation of 1737, as it compelled his family to quit their house. The steeple of the Church he states to have fallen prostrate, a more probable position to have fell in than that stated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*."

Now, where did "Asiaticus'" spurious quotation spring from ? In many ways it corresponds closely with the facts given in the genuine quotation, and yet it imports absolutely independent matter. Another curious feature in the spurious quotation is that Calcutta is described in it as "Galgotha"—a name which applied to the English Factory at Hughli and was confused (see *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. I, page 160) by certain French writers with Calcutta. Those who rejoice in the higher criticism of the Holy Bible might reflect lovingly on the confusion of texts in the present matter. It seems impossible that any one in "Asiaticus'" day would have given the name "Galgotha" to Calcutta, and the fact that the word is used leads me to conjecture that "Asiaticus" must have had before him a printed extract from some magazine other than the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

It is perhaps not generally realised that here in Calcutta we have very exceptional opportunities of studying the Buddhist religion. Here, in the Museum, we have, for instance, a great portion of the Barahat Stupa—the possession of which might well have been counted a glory to our city. We have a complete series of castes of the Asoka edicts, and at the Asiatic Society's rooms there is the Bhabra edict itself engraved on a reddish-grey stone. The Museum is rich with Græco-Buddhist and Indo-Scythian sculptures. Lieut.-Col. Waddell in his book on Lhasa brought before our attention the existence of a Tibetan temple at Howrah, which built for Tibetan traders at the instigation of Warren Hastings, was for many long years regarded as a place of Hindu sanctity. For the Bhot-Bagan at Howrah, I had been making many inquiries, when suddenly one morning in

this month (9th November), I came across the following paragraph in an unsigned article in the *Englishman* :—

“Just above Howrah is the village called Ghusari, which is well known for its *Bhot-Bagan* or Buddhist monastery. From the river bank the visitor is struck at the sight of a range of temples, behind which is a building of a peculiar structure. It is a two-storied house of worship with a boundary wall, having in its centre a gateway facing the river. A garden is attached to it and the lands are let out to tenants on permanent leases; on one of the holdings stands the “Goosery Cotton Mill.” This is Bhot-Bagan founded by Puran Gir Goosain at the request of the Tashi Lama of Tibet to whose court Warren Hastings sent George Bogle and Dr. Hamilton for securing a treaty of amity and commerce between the Bengal and Tibetan states. Puran Gir Goosain accompanied George Bogle as a sincere and faithful friend. In the course of this mission, the Tashi Lama expressed a desire to have a religious house on the banks of the Ganges and in the neighbourhood of Calcutta with the view of sending his people there to pray. Bogle wrote to Warren Hastings alluding to the Tashi Lama’s desire. On Bogle’s return to Calcutta, Warren Hastings issued necessary orders under which a piece of land, about 100 acres, was purchased and given to the Tashi Lama, and the construction of a Buddhist temple was commenced under the direction of Mr. Bogle, who had been previously entrusted by the Tashi Lama with a considerable remittance in money. On the completion of the temple, Warren Hastings wrote to the Tashi Lama and sent him *sanads* of the lands purchased and given him formally and actually to Puran Gir Goosain as his *protege* and deserved favourite. In the deeds which are still preserved in the temple, Puran Gir figures as the co-assignee of the Tashi Lama. It may be stated here in passing that Warren Hastings sent a series of missions to open commercial communications with Tibet. The first mission went in 1774 under George Bogle, Dr. Hamilton and Puran Gir Goosain; the second also went under Bogle and Puran Gir in 1779; the third under Captain Samuel Turner in 1783, and the last under Puran Gir Goosain himself in 1785. In all these missions Puran Gir rendered great service to the British Government. He was the chief guide and adviser when Samuel Turner went as an envoy to the Tashi Lama in 1783. After his return from Tibet in 1786—he was sent out by Warren Hastings on his last mission in 1785—Puran Gir Goosain settled down in his *demesne*. There he lived happily, enjoying the pious veneration of all people who came in contact with him, and the high esteem and regard of the Bengal Government. The Governors-General, Macpherson and Cornwallis, used to visit him at times in his Bhot-Bagan. For nearly ten years, Puran Gir lived a very quiet pious life. On the 3rd May 1795 a gang of dacoits attacked the temple at night, and Puran Gir was killed in a fight with them. The news of this calamity was promptly conveyed to

the Governor-General who immediately sent a Surgeon to help the Goosain, but all in vain. Daljit Gir Goosain, the "chela" of Puran Gir, succeeded him as *mahant* of Bhot-Bagan. After him came Kali Gir Mahanta, Bilas Gir Goosain and Umrao Gir Goosain. Bhot-Bagan has now lost its primitive character, and its buildings have fallen into ruins. It is now the solitary remnant of the genius and policy of the first Governor-General of India, of the piety of the Tashi Lama and of the Tibet-Bengal trade which was sought to be revived by the great pro-consul. Bhot-Bagan is a memorable place on the right bank of the Hughli.

By the kindness of the authorities at the Imperial Library I am able to reproduce here a picture of the original Royal Military Orphanage. Mr. C. N. Banerji in his account of *Howrah Past and Present* (1872) writes:—"The [Howrah] maidan, a portion of the Railway Company's premises, and the different large old buildings in the Maidan were originally included in one lot. The Cutcherry house was built about the year 1767 A.D. for a rum distillery. In a few short years it passed into the hands of Levett, and was known as 'Levett's gardens.' In 1785 A.D. the premises were purchased by the Military Orphan Society, in whose occupation it remained till 1815 A.D. The buildings are said to have been left as a bequeath to Government, an allegation which cannot be credited, for Government made a grant to the Military Orphan Society for its purchase. On the removal of the school there was a proposal to sell the buildings, but two years after it was decided to utilise them, by locating a European Uncovenanted Servant, named Villetoque, of the Customs Department, to prevent the smuggling of goods to and from Calcutta, and the neighbouring foreign settlements of Serampore, Chinsurah and Chandernagore, and by turning a portion into a warehouse. There was, at the same time, a second proposal to dispose of the premises as a dockyard and ropewalk. The fixtures on the land then consisted of

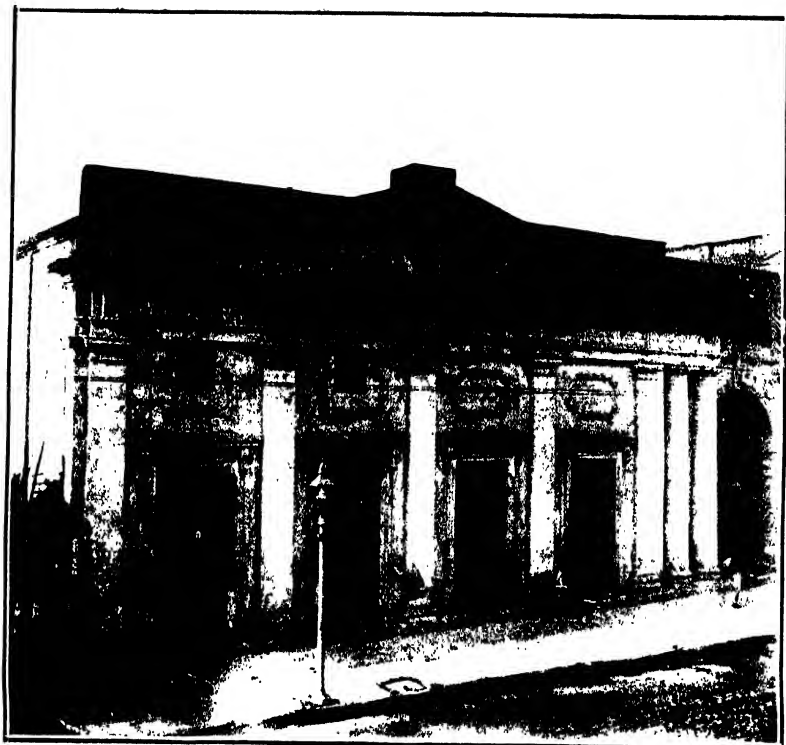
1 House	12 Bungalows
2 Hospital houses	182 Trees
12 Cook Rooms	5 Tanks

and 1 Burial Ground.

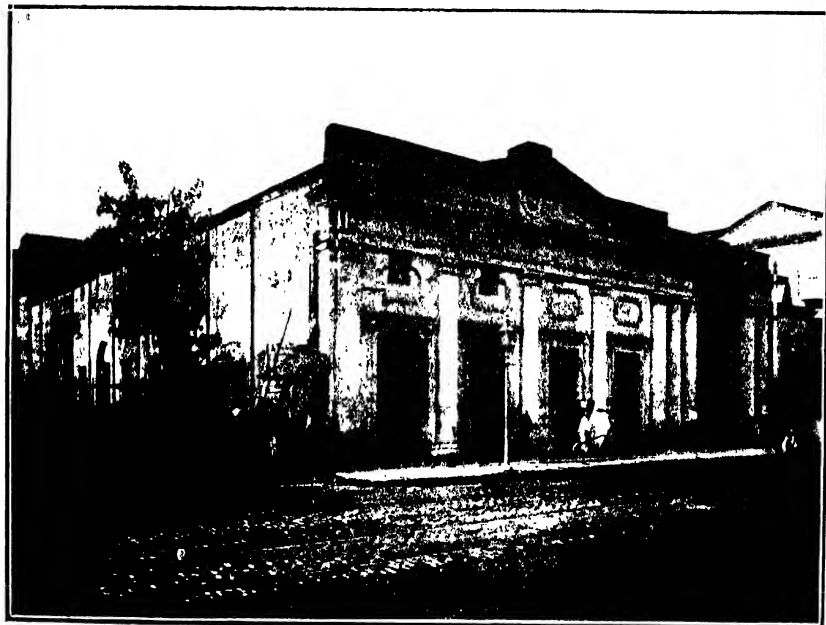
"The premises were divided into three portions, one was allowed to the Customs Department officer, a second to the Magistrate of 24-Pargunnahs for holding a periodical court. To this portion the Civil Court of Sulkea was transferred in a few years. A third portion was made over to the resident Clergy of Bishop's College in consideration of their services in performing Divine Service at Howrah. When a Magistracy was established here in 1843, the Magistrate's Court was located in that portion of the building which accommodated also the Court of Sulkea Munsiffs and offices of the



THE HOWRAH HOME OF THE
ROYAL MILITARY ORPHANAGE.



NO. 8, LAI BAZAR,
(*Photograph by C. F. Hooper, Esq.*)



NO. 8, LAI BAZAR,

Salt Department subordinate to the Customs' Office. In 1848 an attempt was made to move the Cutcherry of the Munsiff to the wing occupied by the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which proved abortive. But, three years later, the Missionaries had to give up using the portion occupied by them in 1859. One house is now the residence of the Magistrate, and the other two buildings accommodate the different courts." (Pp. 23,24.)

AN interesting account of the work enterprised by the S.P.G. in Howrah ("Haura") may be found in the Rev. James Long's *Handbook of Bengal Missions*, but let us follow the story of the old house. In 1785 the premises of "Levett's House and Garden" were advertised as extending from Howrah ghat to Telkul ghat, *i.e.*, 160 bighas and 1½ cottahs, and the price at which it was procured for the Orphanage was Rs. 65,000. The children of both the Upper and Lower Schools were housed here, but on Tuesday, June, 1790, the wards of the Upper School moved across the water into Barwell's old home at Alipur, and in 1815 the Lower School, after an outbreak of ophthalmia, found a temporary refuge in the desired cadets' quarters at Baraset. In one fine old view of Calcutta "Levett's house" stands up like a riverside fortress facing the city on the opposite bank. It is somewhat difficult to believe that the house was originally built to serve as a rum distillery.

NO. 8, LAL BAZAR has recently been occupying the attention of some members of our Society. By the courtesy of Messrs. Ralli Bros. I was permitted to make a thorough inspection, and I have to thank Mr. Dulcken of that firm and Mr. Dunbar for their kindness in accompanying me on that occasion. To Mr. C. H. Hooper and Mr. Pratt I am indebted for the photographs which are reproduced in this place. The façade seems to betoken a place of some consequence in its day, but of the old building the façade alone remains, and all lying behind it is a jute godown built some fifty years ago by Messrs. Ralli Bros. It is conjectured that the façade may perhaps have belonged to one of the famous "taverns," but may it not be possible that we have here still with us a portion of the original theatre, which is known to have stood close to the corner formed by Lal Bazar and the Rope Walk (Mission Row)? If so, we shall have for a few months to come the opportunity of looking at walls which were standing when Suraj-ud-daula drove the English from their defences in Lal Bazar. The Playhouse, it will be remembered, afforded the enemy the cover for their guns which played such havoc with the English. On March 3, 1758, the Court wrote to Bengal: "Wee are told that the Building formerly made use of as a Theatre may with a little expense be converted into a Church or Public place of Worship, as it was built by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants of Calcutta we think there can be no difficulty in getting

it freely applied to the before-mentioned Purpose especially when we authorise you to fit it up decently at the Company's Expense as we hereby do." (Wilson : *Old Fort William*, Vol. II. p. 130.)

As we were walking down the stairs of the Town Hall, after our inaugural meeting, I ventured to remark to a friend that it was a pity that the choice of Sir Francis Maclean as our President had not inspired one of the speakers to allude to the association of the inception of the venerable Asiatic Society of Bengal with the memory of Sir William Jones. My friend said "Yes, of course," but only after a pause and a puzzled expression which made it quite clear that he was not familiar with the memory of Sir William Jones. I have recently been tracing in French Literature evidences of the sensation which the early publications of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and in particular, the work of Sir William Jones, created in Europe. Joseph de Maistre was an enthusiastic and careful student of the works of Sir William Jones, and also, I may add, of the *Asiatic Researches* of Claudius Buchanan. Two volumes of Sir William Jones' papers appeared in French, in 1805, and with annotations by Delambre, Cuivier and de Langles. "L'Europe," wrote de Maistre in allusion to our Bengal Asiatic Society, "doit des actions de grâce à cette société anglaise." The enthusiasm of those old Calcutta students influenced Lammenais in his *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*, and also that obscure but important "Philosophe Inconnu"—Saint Martin, of whom, strangely enough, even Mr. John Morley is ignorant. In a work published by the Bengal Secretariat, I find Sir William Jones hopelessly confused with "Guru Jones." It is true there is an inadequate "erratum" slip inserted to forestall criticism, but yet it still remains that, in 1888, a distinguished member of the Civil Service had but the faintest idea of the personality of the man who, in his day, not only inspired, but actually impersonated the fascination of India's ancient lore. Sir William Jones died on April 27, 1794. But in the official publication to which we have referred, we are told that he was "the founder of the prosperity of Howrah, where he started a canvas manufactory in 1810. ... It was Sir William Jones, too, who first discovered coal in the Burdwan District. He also designed and commenced building of Bishop's College, and by a fever contracted while superintending the building lost his life." "Guru Jones" was not unworthy of the distinction of being mistaken for Sir William.

ON November 11 last, Mr. E. W. Madge and myself had the privilege of visiting in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Prior, Commanding Officer, "Guru" and Historian of the historical 13th Rajputs, the grave of the man



THE GRAVE OF HENRY SJERWOOD AT BERHAMPTON.
(PHOTOGRAPH BY A. F. C. DE COSSAN, ESQ.)

who raised that loyal regiment—Colonel Henry Forster, C.B. The grave is in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, and to find it one has to proceed straight away from the entrance, and, having counted eight pathways on the left-hand side, turn up the eighth and find the eighth grave. We found the Cross which once surmounted the tomb, lying in pieces; the Society will be glad to hear that this visit will lead to the restoration of a deeply interesting monument. The 13th Rajputs are very shortly to leave Alipur for Hongkong, and long years will in all probability pass before they are stationed again at the Presidency. An excellent sketch of the "Father of the Regiment" is to be found in Mr. Stark's and Mr. Madge's *East Indian Worthies*, but this account was written nearly fifteen years ago, and not only has Lieutenant-Colonel Prior thrown new light on a fascinating subject, but Mr. Madge's researches have also moved on to fresh ground. For some time past a portrait of Henry Forster has been hanging on the walls of the Officers' Mess at Alipur—a house which has a story worth recording.

SOME months ago I noticed that the lettering on the tomb of the great financier James Wilson was sadly in need of attention. I am glad to see that the monument is now being restored. The Society, I may add, is extremely grateful to the Rev. J. F. Smith, B.D., for the steps that he has taken to get the tablet in St. James' Church to the memory of the Calcutta Cavalry Volunteers, who fell in the year 1857-1858, restored. The inscription had been most seriously effaced.

THE Government of Bengal has recently placed the tomb of Henry Sherwood,—associated with his mother's story of *Little Henry and His Bearer*—on the list of historical monuments which are specially cared for by the Public Works Department. Little Henry, born on Christmas Day, 1805, died at Berhampore, on July 22, 1807, so the action of the Bengal Government marks a centenary. The announcement of the decision in regard to the tomb made by a Bombay paper elicited from a nephew of "Little Henry" a letter of thanks to the Rev. Canon T. E. F. Cole for the pains he had taken in the matter, and the writer added that "Little Henry" has a brother, the Rev. Henry Martyn Sherwood, not only living but working in a Worcestershire parish. It was only a few days before I was privileged to read this letter, the photograph of the grave (reproduced in the present number) was sent me by Mr. de Casson. The inscription on the tomb reads as follows: "To the memory of Henry Sherwood, infant son of Henry Sherwood, Esq., Paymaster of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, and Mary Martha Sherwood, his wife, who was born at Dinapore on Christmas Day, 1805, and died at Berhampore,

22nd July 1807. 'Suffer the Little Children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God.' S. Mark x. 14."

IN the standard works on which we Calcutta folk must needs rely there is the wildest confusion as to the Berhampore inscriptions. Dr. Wilson, for instance, in his *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal* places the grave of Mary Hastings in one cemetery and that of Hampden's granddaughter in another, whereas in fact the two girl-wives lie almost side by side. Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Tull Walsh in his valuable and handsomely printed *History of Murshidabad* (p. 78) writes :—"Little Henry was Creighton, the antiquary and explorer of Gaur," and he "looks in vain for his grave." Some four or five years ago I sped to Berhampore, on duty bound, and visited the old Dutch Cemetery at Kalkapur and the old English Cemetery at Cossimbazar : but time did not allow of a visit to the old Residency Cemetery, where lie "Little Henry," Henry Creighton, William Grant, Robert Boileau Pemberton (a distinguished chartographer), Colin Shakespear (Thackeray's cousin and the original of Joseph Sedley), and one whose memory should be revived—Lieutenant-Colonel James Templar Parlbv. The existence of this graveyard, I take it, escaped Lieutenant-Colonel Tull Walsh's attention. That most extraordinary of adventurers, George Thomas, died at Berhampur on the 22nd of August 1802, and he was buried in the Old Residency cemetery, under a tomb that now bears no record to the naval-deserter who mounted a throne.

I MUST confess that I have never read *Little Henry and his Bearer*, but the *Life of Mrs. Sherwood* is in itself sufficient to interest the reader in anything associated with that lady. Her sketches of the famous "evangelical chaplains" of Bengal, and more particularly the passages concerning Henry Martyn, have often been quoted. On pages 482-483 there is an interesting account of Mrs. Sherwood's visit to the Begum Sumroo, which I will venture to quote :—

"On Easter Sunday the Begum Somru came with her camels, and set up her tents in the plain between our house and Mr. Parson's. She then sent her usual present of rose water to certain of her ladies, which was a hint that we were to pay our compliments. Accordingly I went, with others of the officers' wives, taking with me my two little girls and two of the orphans. Many tents were pitched around and the plain was littered by elephants, camels, hackeries, etc. We were ushered into the principal tent, where her highness sat on a masnud, her shrivelled person being almost lost in Cashmere shawls and immense cushions of quinquab. Her superb hookah was set ready to hand, and her glittering paunbox to the other, whilst very little of her person but her remarkably plain

face was visible. Behind her, on the cushions, was perched David Dyce, the son of her daughter's husband, a child of five or six years of age, in a full court suit—coat, waistcoat and shirt of crimson satin,—with a sword dangling to his side, and a cocked hat. On each side of the masnud was a row of female slaves, standing with their backs to the wall of the tent, dressed in white cotton and that none of the cleanest.

"We went in and having exchanged bows and salams in due form and chairs being offered, the Begum addressed the children I had brought with me, all of whom answered very correctly except the youngest of my little girls then present. Emily was the very specimen of a delicate and beautiful little English girl, such as the Begum probably had not often seen, and she seemed resolved to make her speak. At first she began gently and soothingly, but not a word would the little one reply till the Begum said 'I suspect you have no tongue.' 'I have,' she answered. 'It is good for nothing, then,' said the old lady 'I will have it cut out and given to the crows.'

The child reddened and stamped with her foot ; and called the Begum a 'naughty wicked Beebee.' The old lady laughed, and the poor slaves echoed her laugh ; but I was glad to get the child away, though she expressed no fear. Master David, in his crimson satin suit, was called upon to hand us out of the tent, which he did with the usual etiquette. I must first add one remark in this place. My little girl, of whom I have just spoken, was a remarkably passionate infant ; in her after life she proved quite otherwise, constantly winning much self-command. This change I can but attribute to the Divine influence which early prepared her glory."

The little girl of this quotation was buried beside her brother George in the Churchyard of St. John's near Worcester.

WHETHER or no the Henry Sherwood buried at Berhampur was the "Little Henry" of the story, the native servant associated with him was an ayah not a bearer. His mother writes :—

"He was constantly either with me or his favourite black woman ; by day she walked incessantly with him, always singing to him her lullaby. Both the words and the air are still fresh in my mind, and in after years I sung them in the original Hindustanee to every beloved one who rested on my knee.

" Sleep make Baby,
Sleep make ;
Sleep little Baby,
Sleep, oh ! oh !

Golden is thy bed,
Of silk are thy curtains,
From Cabul the Mogul woman comes
To make my master sleep."

FROM Mrs. Sherwood we learn that Martyn's favourite hymn was Dr. Watt's paraphrase of the 72nd Psalm. Those terrible editors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* have dealt hardly with Dr. Watts. They have omitted from "When I survey" the beautiful verse which recalls the fine image of St. Pacian, and commences "His dying Crimson like a robe" and in "Jesus shall reign" they omit Martyn's favourite :—

The saints shall flourish in His days,
Dress'd in the robes of joy and praise;
Peace, like a river from His throne,
Shall flow to nations yet unknown.

It is worth while noting that Mrs. Sherwood for a time stayed at Aldeen House with the Scherers and Thomasons. This was after David Browne's death. From her autobiography we learn that Browne had the Pagoda fitted up with glass doors, and that before the Pagoda there was a "stone terrace walk of ancient construction."

By the kindness of my friend Mr. J. Golden Bell, the following note relative to the forlorn Mahomedan graves which lie in front of the Bamun Bustee Police Thana in the Lower Circular Road was drawn up in order to facilitate an inspection I made some three years ago.

(1) Nawab Uzir Ali Shah, a descendant of the Emperor of Delhi, arrested and brought down to Calcutta and kept in the Fort as a State prisoner, committed suicide and was buried at the place. There was a tombstone on the grave but nobody could say what had become of it.

(2) Bears inscription to the effect that Supan Khansama died in 1266 Hijree (62 years ago). The grave lies about 10 cubits off from Nawab Uzir Ali's grave. Nobody could say who he was.

(3) Bears inscription to the effect that Bibi Jamaleh Begum, daughter of Sibtain Sahib, died on the 17th Jamadih Ussani 1253 Hijree (about 75 years ago). Nobody could say who she was.

(4) Bears inscription to the effect that Bibi Hinton alias *Mrs. Port* died on December 28, 1817. None could give an account of her.

(5), (6) and (7) are the graves which bear no inscriptions and which were pointed out yesterday by Mahomed Manwar Ali Sultan, a descendant of Tipu Sultan, as belonging to his ancestors. The oldest man of the locality

was questioned and careful inquiry was made, but none could say whom they had belonged to.

(8) Belongs to Bibi Manuka. Detailed particulars have been given on the annexed paper.

(9) Bears inscription to the effect that Idoo Khansama, servant of Karneshal Chekan Sahib, died in 1820. Nothing has been known of him as well.

Jom Sher Shah, also a descendant of Tipu Sultan, and living in Bala Hakkak Lane, was seen and questioned, but he could not throw any light on the matter and only says he heard of the burial of some of his ancestors there, but could not say who they were.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

زوجہ امیر خان کرور حبیب مکین بی بی مانوکہ دم واپسین

ذکر خدا کرور گذشت از جهان یافت بہار چمن بے خفوان

از سر دنیای وفائی بگذشت ماہ ربیع الثانی تاریخ ۲۳ و بسف

سنہ ۱۲۲۰ ہجری

تاریخ ۲۳ ربیع الثانی

نقطہ

The above is the true copy of the inscription on the grave in question :—

Translation :—Bibi Manooka (Mannooka) wife of Amir Khan breathed her last on the 23rd Rabi Ussani 1220 Hijree (about a hundred years ago).

Careful inquiry was made but no one could say who she was. The gentleman, Mahomed Manwar Ali Sultan, a descendant of Tipu Sultan, who pointed it out to me as belonging to one of his ancestors also failed to account for Bibi Manooka.

MOHENDRANATHI MUKERJEE.

THE Vizier Ali, I believe, did not commit suicide but died of pneumonia. A sketch of the vanished tombstone will appear in our next issue.

Our first list of Expeditions was as follows :—

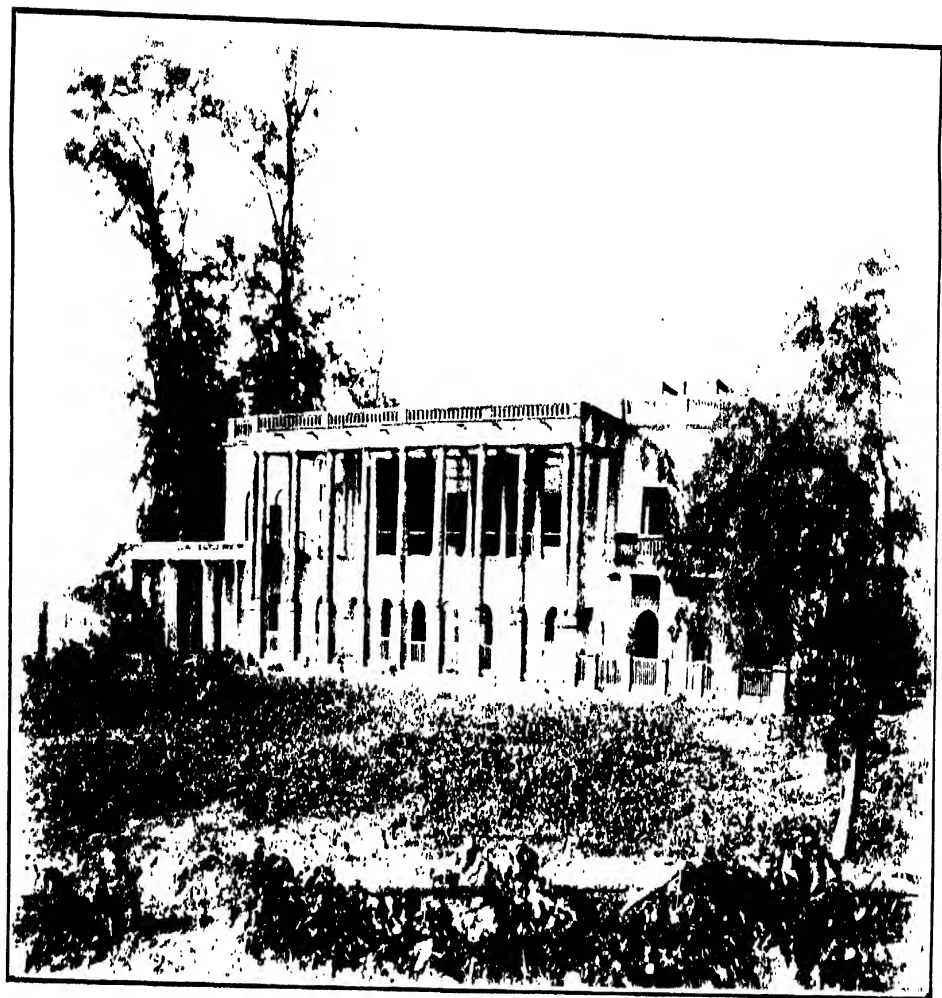
1. Champdani, Gheretti and Chandernagore.
2. Satgaon.
3. Tarkeswar.

4. The old Fort at Shamnagar.
5. Hidjili.
6. Bansberia.
7. Plassey.
9. Chinsurah, Hughli, Bandel.
10. Barrackpore.
11. Cossipore and Dum Dum.
12. Murshidabad, Berhampore and Cossim Bazar.
13. Tamluk, Fulta, Budge Budge.
14. The Arsenal of Fort William.
15. St. John's Church.

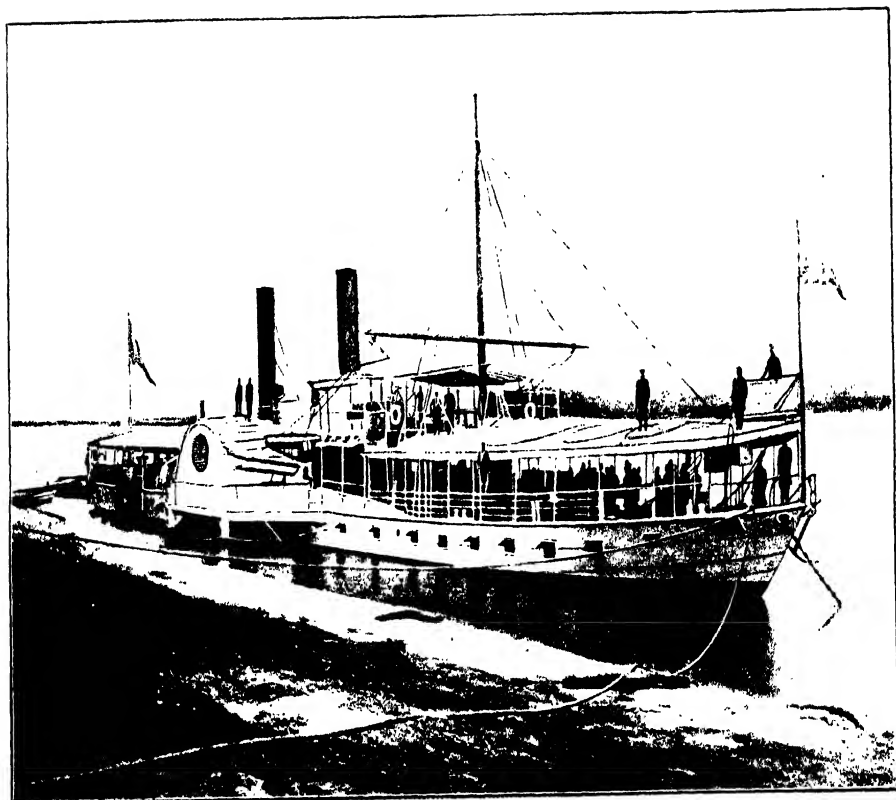
Some of the places on this list have been visited very much to our enjoyment, and Captain Petley has also taken us on a pilgrimage (not on the list) to Achipore. Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford has suggested some other places which we might well visit. The first is Pandua with its ancient tower said to be the oldest building in Bengal. Then there is Biddera, the site of Forde's decisive battle with the Dutch, but Biddera would take a lot of finding, for even the name is under suspicion. The old fort in the Goghat thana would interest keen students intensely: but, save for Government officials travelling on duty it is practically inaccessible—thirty miles from the railway and no practicable roads for motors or even cycles. The Colonel has visited this remote spot three or four times, and it is probable that he may be visiting it again in the course of his spring touring. We count on him to supply us with some photographs and a description.

How is the Society to struggle with the problem of distance? By the time these pages reach the members' eyes, Berhampur and Plassey will be ticked off our list, but Murshidabad will remain. I fancy that old Gour and Malda will next exasperate our appetite, and not a few of us will be restless until we have seen Monghyr and Rajmahal. Tamluk is the sort of expedition for which we ought to be able to rely on the Asiatic Society of Bengal for a little fraternal co-operation. Then there are Bishenpur and Bankura.

THE first number of *Bengal Past and Present* was got out with a haste that was almost indecent. Our inaugural meeting was held on April 27th, and punctually in July appeared our No. 1 including articles sent out from England. I warned the readers that my Editorial, "Our Work," had been written at top speed, and that it would not stand the strain of too close an examination. It was meant to be looked at through the wrong end of your opera glasses. But in that article I committed a blunder for which no apology can be sufficient. My "Zanzibar memory" and "Bengal head" might in ordinary be regarded as excuse for an obvious neglect of duty, but what can be



COMBERMERE HOUSE, TITAGHUR.



THE "KOLADYNE," AS SHE APPEARED IN 1857.

said for an Editor of *Bengal Past and Present* who can pretend to give even the lightest sketch of "the work that has been done" and yet not mention the name of the man to whom every student of the history of our race in Bengal is most deeply indebted? The omission on my part is all the more blameworthy, for I do not think there is any writer to whom I am myself more deeply indebted than I am to Sir Henry Yule. Before me lies what was once Sir William Hunter's copy of Yule's edition of *Hedges' Diary*: a number of pages until quite recently uncut remind me of the ancient jest about not cutting one's old friends. But surely, if we do not read our Yule's *Hedges* from first page to last, we cannot forget Sir Henry's splendid contributions to *Hobson Jobson*. If our Society were to do no more than popularise Sir Henry's researches, it would have done a work more than sufficient to justify its existence.

THE following interesting paragraph and the accompanying illustration I owe to the courtesy of the Editor of the *Port Defence Volunteers Annual*, 1905-06.

A little time back at the initiation of our lamented Honorary Colonel Sir John Woodburn, a brass plate was fixed on the head-quarters hulk, *Koladyne*, setting out an episode of her history during the mutiny year 1857. The inscription on this plate reads as follows:—

"The *Koladyne*, now the Head-Quarters of the Calcutta Port Defence Volunteer Corps, belonged in 1857 to the Bengal Marine and was in July of that year fitted out as a gunboat to convey the force under Captain Dunbar of the 10th Regiment to the relief of Arrah.

The *Koladyne* grounded above Dinapore and the troops went on in another vessel. The attempted relief failed and Captain Dunbar and 115 of his men were killed, but Arrah was relieved a few days later by the force under Major Vincent Eyre."

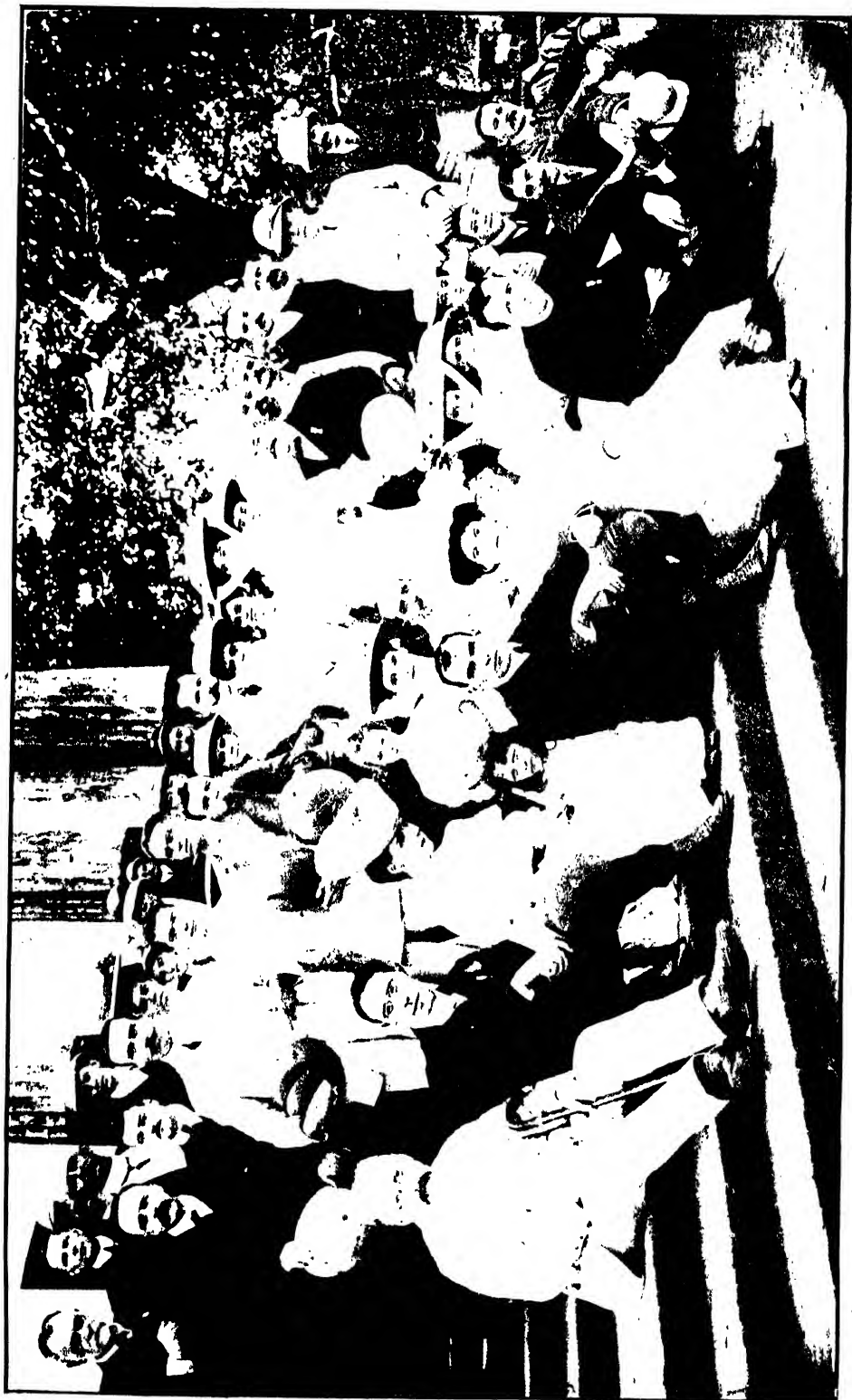
By the kindness of Mr. J. Hart of Kidderpore we are enabled to reproduce a photograph which shows the *Koladyne* as she appeared nearly fifty years ago, when she played a useful part in stirring days. By way of contrast with the discarded hulk which forms our head-quarters, on the opposite page appears H.M.S. *Buzzard*, the head-quarters vessel of the London Division of the new Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.

COMBERMERE House at Tittaghur (once the residence of Lord Lake and in later days of Mr. R. C. Sterndale) is soon to disappear in order to make room for the Kelvin Mills. To Mr. J. Thomson, I am indebted for the excellent photograph from which our phototype illustration has been made.

By the courtesy of Mr. William Thacker Spink, I am enabled to reproduce here a photograph of John Paxton Norman, the officiating Chief Justice, who was assassinated on the steps of the Town Hall on his way to attend the High Court which was then holding its sessions there. He died at Messrs. Thacker Spink's place of business, and the photograph was presented to the Spink family by the relatives of the murdered man. A member of our Society is preparing an article in which some facts connected with the tragedy will, for the first time, be brought to light.



JOHN FAXTON NORMAN.



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.



SINCE the last appearance of *Bengal Past and Present* the Society's Excursions have been as follows: Wednesday, November 6 (the Dewali holiday), to Hooghly per S.S. *Khetri* and thence to Bansberia; Friday, November 15 (a public holiday), to Chinsurah per S.S. *Khetri*, and to Plassey, Berhampur, and Cossim Bazar on December 13th—14th by special train.

For the two former the steamer was kindly lent by Messrs. Macneill & Co. and on each day the weather was all that could be wished. The catering on the steamer was entrusted to the Palace Hotel Co., while Messrs. Kellner and Company looked after the railway travellers.

The Bansberia river party proved the larger of the two, and on this occasion members of the Committee wore for the first time very artistic gold "C.H.S." badges with blue ribbon accompaniment and the *nishan* of the Society flew at the fore bearing Clive's design with the letters C.H.S. substituted for E.I.C. A guide to the district to be visited, specially compiled by the Rev. W. K. Firminger, was in demand, and a new feature of the day's proceedings was a bookstall on board for the sale of the Society's publications and of others of local historical interest. Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd attended and took several excellent photographs. On landing at Hooghly some of the party remained to inspect the Imambara, etc., and the Church at Bandel, but the greater number found their way in gharries (arranged for in advance by the industry of Mr. C. F. Hooper) to the interesting cluster of Temples at Bansberia. In addition to the information recorded in the official guide this unique group of places of worship is written of on another page of this issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*, while a writer in the *Asian* has recorded that a peculiarity of the place lies in the fact that while elsewhere Banns-marry-yer, here it would seem that Bans-bery-er. He was left behind, so it is said, in the vicinity of a disused Juggernaut car to suffer in silence, and (fortunately) alone.

The Hooghly Imambara, erected by the beneficence of Haji Mohammed Mohsin, who died in 1812, was commenced in 1845 and completed about three years afterwards, at a cost of Rs. 2,17,418. Its fine courtyard and façade are notable of their kind; and some of the walls are inscribed with extracts from the Koran in large script. Close by is the old Imambara. The

delay between the death of the founder and the erection of the building was due to litigation. At low tide the foundations of the old Portuguese Fort are visible on the river bank just before reaching the railway bridge.

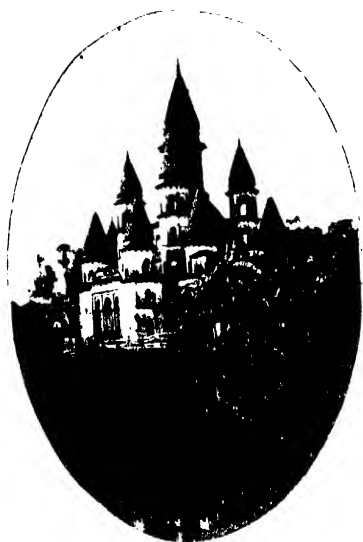
Bandel is now deserted by Europeans, but the party visiting Bansberia drove past some of "the ruins of its once delectable mansions, lawns and deer-parks." At one time it was a popular resort of pleasure-seekers from Calcutta and its charms were sung locally in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 5, 1784, by some inglorious Milton in the following elaborate doggerel :—

Come listen whilst I tell
The charms I found at fair Bandel.
In pleasing lines the object fell,
In prospect view'd from high Bandel
There's Houghly mounted on a swell,
To improve the scenery round Bandel.
Here the bank rises, there's a dell ;
A change peculiar to Bandel.
Water you'll find in many a well
That's clear and sweet about Bandel.
No dirty road or stinking smell,
Will e'er offend you at Bandel.
All bilious gloom you'll soon dispel
By a short sejour at Bandel
And nowhere meet with the pareil,
Of healthy air that's at Bandel.
'Tis fine to hear the Padre's Bell
Summons to Vespers at Bandel.

Would you be known to many a Belle,
Whose beauty charms you at Bandel,
Ask—who loves to dwell,
And scribble verses at Bandel,
Lives like a hermit in his cell,
Scarce ever seen but at Bandel.
I thought to have found there Madame Pelle,
But she, alas ! has left Bandel,
Each other place is hot as—ll,
When breezes fan you at Bandel.
I'm sure no argument can quell
My furious penchant for Bandel.
I'll kick the rogue and make him yell
Who dares to censure dear Bandel.
Had I ten houses—all I'd sell
And live entirely at Bandel.
Come let's away there ; haste pel-mel,
Each hour's a month at sweet Bandel.

The Church was founded in 1599, the year in which Queen Elizabeth sanctioned the establishment of the East India Company and is the oldest Christian Church in Bengal. The original structure was burnt in the sack of the place by Shah Jehan in 1632, but the keystone, dated 1599, was built by Augustinian Fathers into the gate of the new Church in 1661. During the siege the Governor was captured and burnt alive and (so says an old writer) a thousand men, women and children were made prisoners of war and taken captive to Delhi ; while out of 300 vessels then in port only a few escaped.

Among the prisoners was a friar Fra Jao da Cruz, whom his captors were unable to bend to an acceptance of their faith. He was accordingly held for death, and with others left to the tender mercy of a wild elephant. The chronicle then records that as soon as the door was opened the infuriated brute made one dash towards the unfortunate Christians, and it appeared as if the animal were about to sweep everything before it. But directly it was a few yards from the holy priest, all its fury vanished and it became as mild as a lamb. Then approaching reverently it bowed three times, and lifting the priest carefully with its trunk placed him on its back and carried him to the Emperor's throne.



HAMSEVARI TEMPLE SHOWING
THE MAHARATTA DITCH



THE VISHNU TEMPLE.



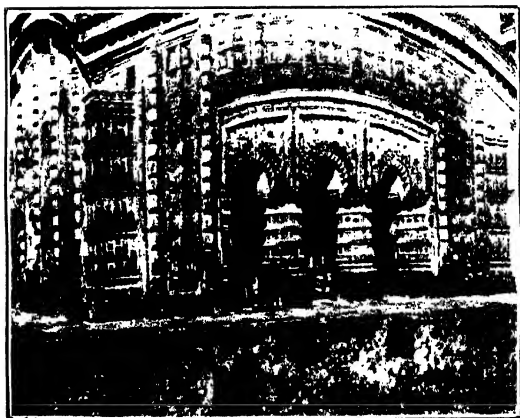
THE HAMISVARI TEMPLE.



PORTAL OF HAMISVARI TEMPLE.



"THE KHIFRI" LYING OFF BANDEL.



THE VISHNU TEMPLE.



THE VISHNU TEMPLE,
BANSERIA.

The Emperor, terror-stricken, lost no time in immediately revoking his decree, and granting unconditional pardon to all the Christians. As soon as he had done this, the elephant, replacing Fra Joa da Cruz on the ground, bowed before him as it had done before, and then going back, entered its cage and remained there.

The Emperor then commanded the holy man to ask whatever he wanted. He replied that the Portuguese had no intention of robbing him of his lands or riches, and all they desired was permission to return unmolested to Bandel with full liberty to preach the Christian faith.

The Emperor granted these demands, and provided funds to enable him and his countrymen to return to Bandel. He also gave him, as an absolute and permanent gift by "Firman," 777 bigahs of land in the village of Bandel surrounding the Convent with power to administer justice within the district.

The centre of attraction at the present moment in this once famous place is the Statue of Our Blessed Lady of Happy Voyage, about which various traditions tell of its miraculous powers and far-reaching fame. It is situated high up in a niche under the cross in the centre of the main façade.

The party to Bansberia was under the leadership of Mr. Firminger. The admirable miniature photographs of the temples were taken by Mr. W. J. Symonds.

Enjoyment and instruction were the pleasant lot of those who participated in the Society's trip to Chinsurah, the old Dutch settlement ceded in 1826 to the English in exchange for the island of Sumatra.

Although, under Dutch rule, Chinsurah became a "city of silence and decay," the Hollanders did not vacate it without leaving behind some indications of their occupation, and the quaint old church, built in 1767, still stands as a living monument to the sturdy Christianity of the original settlers. In a sense, also, the ancient fane indicates the past glories of the Dutch nation for the walls possess the hatchments of several Dutch governors whose labours are now well nigh forgotten. The tower of the church was built many years before the body of the building, a precipitancy ill required, for it was destroyed by the great cyclone of 1864. These things were explained to the visitors by Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, the popular Civil Surgeon. A visit was then paid to the cemetery which was described by Mr. E. W. Madge, who has since written a separate description of the old graveyard for these pages.

Another interesting relic seen by the Society was the ancient Armenian Church, founded in 1695 by the brothers Margar, whose father, according to his epitaph, was "a considerable merchant honoured with the favours of Kings and Viceroy : he had travelled North, East, South and West, and rests here

in a foreign land seeking his home." This building was visited under the guidance of the Rev. W. K. Firminger. The little Roman Catholic Chapel could not be entered, as its gate was found to be padlocked.

The tombs the old Dutch Factors and early settlers afforded a source of great interest to the visitors, amply atoning for the rather long and dusty walk in the absence of ticca gharries, very few of which could be impressed, notwithstanding the kindly efforts made by the Civil Surgeon on behalf of the Society.

The old Hughli College, now a Hindu School of considerable importance, was originally the mansion of the French General Perron, who accumulated a large fortune in Mahratta service.

It was from Chinsurah or its neighbourhood that Colonel Francis Forde in October 1758 applied to Clive for permission to attack a Dutch expedition that had landed in force. Calcutta was in a tumult, Commodore Wilson of the Indian Navy (a navy whose glorious history from 1613 to 1863 is familiar to but few) had destroyed a Dutch fleet in the Hooghly as a reply to a Dutch ultimatum; the Calcutta Militia were armed, the batteries strengthened, and guns were mounted on the nascent Fort William. Clive was playing cards and without rising from the table ordered Forde to attack immediately with the further intimation that an order of Council would follow and Forde's prompt obedience to his instructions materially advanced the addition of Chinsurah to the British dominions.

Some photographs, by Mr. R. J. Watson, appear elsewhere in our present issue.

The members of the Society and their lady friends visited St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, on the afternoon of Saturday, November 30, and were conducted by the Cathedral Chaplains around the edifice. The Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., in an interesting address dwelt on the history of the building and the monuments it contains. He outlined the founding of the See and referred to the design of a stately Cathedral drawn up by order of the Marquis of Hastings. The Library was visited; Bishop Wilson's grave noticed; Chantrey's Heber statue admired, and Burne-Jones' magnificent window inspected. The many memorial tablets to notable men and women borne upon the walls were dilated upon with loving zeal, and all present stood for a while in silent thought before the cenotaph of Lady Canning. A memorable afternoon closed in all too rapidly and there is little doubt but that a renewed interest and reverence were awakened in and for the glorious mother church of our great city.

Mr. Firminger purposely lingered over the lesser known memorials gracing the church, those of imperial or national importance being passed over as already familiar to his audience.



THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH AT CHINSURAH
SHOWING THE STEEPLE DESTROYED BY CYCLONE IN 1864,
AND THE RIVER FRONT OF THE COLLEGE.
(From an unfinished water-colour drawing
by the late Rev. T. A. C. Firminger.)

In the vestry was placed on view one of the old Marriage Registers which recorded, on January 10, 1856, the marriage of Colonel Richard Baird-Smith and Florence Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Quincey, the author. The bride was given away by her brother, Captain P. F. de Quincey, who saw service in the Indian Mutiny.

Several of the visitors ascended the belfry tower and were rewarded by a magnificent panorama of the city and its surroundings, the foundations of the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall, in the immediate foreground towards the river, attracting the attention usually accorded to objects seen from the unfamiliar point of view of a bird's eye.

The Cathedral Chaplains were afterwards "at home" to the Society in the Cathedral Compound. Tea was served under a banyan tree on the lawn, Mrs. Firminger and Miss Rolfe kindly attending to the comforts of the guests.

A report of the visit to the field of Plassey and to Berhampur and Cossim Bazaar will appear in the next number of *Bengal : Past and Present*.

W. C.

Old Chinsurah.

"THE GARDEN OF SLEEP."

"And many a shattered step and stone,
Where lights the foot with faltering tread,
But sadly speak, of what is gone,
As relics whisper of the dead."

—Derozio.



THE three illustrations, for which we are indebted to Mr. R. J. Watson, represent photographs taken in the cemetery at Chinsurah on the occasion of the visit of the Calcutta Historical Society to that old Dutch settlement on the 15th November last. The graveyard is situated, about a mile to the west of the Church, at a place called Dharampur. In the new portion of the cemetery, only a few weeks ago, Mr. J. H. Bernard, I.C.S., Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, and his wife and her sister (Miss White) were all three interred. But the more ancient, and hence more interesting, portion which is separated from the newer by a walk, would appear to have been in disuse for many years past. Private Ryder, the author of an old book, *Four Years in India*, (1853) attended a funeral here during the rainy season. "We buried our dead at night (he observes), and such a graveyard I never witnessed. The earth being so full of water, it filled the graves immediately, so that we had to pile the earth and stones upon the coffin to sink it! This was sufficient to give one the horrors. It is a large graveyard, and very full now."

The large uncovered plinth shown in one of the pictures has a sloping tablet (from which the inscription is all but obliterated) to the memory of Adriana J. Wyborch (1760). The two pairs of iron trestles are significant as they suggest the possibility of the coffins having been laid on them (instead of being buried in the earth) and then bricked up into a chamber of which the roof and walls have in this particular instance crumbled away. On opening the door of the vault of Captain the Hon'ble L. J. Zuidland (1766) a coffin may still be seen! The group to the right of the same picture are inspecting the mausoleum of the Herklots family. Gregory Herklots, Fiscal of Chinsurah, who left a large number of descendants, had been a sixty-three years' resident and was much respected. Here also is interred the widow of the Hon. Gregorius Herklots, Governor of the Dutch Factory at Cassimbazar, whose tomb we saw at Calcapore. He was cousin of Gregory Herklots of Chinsurah.



CHINSURAH CEMETERY.
Tombs of old Dutch Factors, etc.

That unpretentious stone lying embedded in the grass, around which a small party are standing, marks the resting-place of the Rev. Nathaniel Forsyth who "is affectionately remembered.....as the first faithful and zealous Protestant Missionary in Chinsurah." He came out to India as the first Agent of the London Missionary Society so far back as 1798, that is to say, between the famous Baptists, Thomas* and Carey, on the one hand, and Marshman and Ward, on the other.

The remaining picture shows the monuments of some old Dutch Factors whose names have long been forgotten. Towards the right is one to Mesdames Diemer and Johnson, daughters of Charles Weston, the Eurasian philanthropist and friend of Governor Holwell. He gave his name to Weston Street, Calcutta, and his portrait hangs in the vestry of St. John's Church where also may be seen a pair of interesting miniatures of Watson and his wife set in Ceylon diamonds—a gift to the Vestry by Miss Sinaes of Serampur. In the words of the *Bengal Obituary*: "This truly honourable man resided at Chinsurah, amid a group of necessitous people soothed and supported by his bounty. One hundred gold-mohurs and upwards a month were regularly distributed to the indigent from his own venerable hand."

It should be explained that Mr. Watson's snapshots were taken at random, and not with any view to reproduce the most important memorials. The tallest monument, one in the form of a quadrangular obelisk, is to Pieter Brueys, Head Administrator (1783). The next in height, a triangular obelisk, bears the name of Cornelius Rietveld, without the date of his death. Among other interesting inscriptions are those of J. F. Geissler, the Surgeon of the Settlement, which opens with the words *Aula Lucis* (the Palace of Light), in allusion to a quaint form of belief held by him that light was the origin and basis of every object in the universe; a lady of noble birth, named Bodle; the little son of Colonel G. W. Hessing who was in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia and who held Agra against the British when it was taken by Lord Lake; and Daniel Overbeck, the last Dutch Governor whom Bishop Heber mentions as continuing to reside at Chinsurah as a private individual. His son, who lies alongside, had gone before. "His father envies him his grave," so runs his epitaph, and there is none more pathetic over any of those sleeping here. There is a headstone to "Mr. John Harle, Missionary to the Heathen," and memorials to the wives of other early missionaries: May, Morton and Mundy; also to the wife of Captain Bell, who erected the Chinsurah Barracks, and the widow of the Hon. G. L. Vernet, "*Ci-devant* Director of the Dutch E. I. Co. in Bengal." Mrs. Wymer's monument bears the coat-of-arms of the Knights-Hospitalers of St. John

* Thomas had previously served under Kiernander. [Ed.]

of Jerusalem ; but what is believed to be the oldest inscription (Sir Cornelius de Jonge, 1743) could not be traced on this occasion. On drawing the bolt on the door of the vault bearing the name of J. W. S. Van Haugwitz (1744), a few bones were disclosed to view ! Many of the tombs are in a dilapidated state, and it is to be hoped that the Historical Society will draw the attention of the Local Government to the condition of these tombs with a view to restoring those that are of historic interest. A lofty obelisk situated outside the cemetery to the north-east bears no inscription, but is believed (so Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford tells us) to mark the grave of a long forgotten Dutch official who committed suicide. On the Great Trunk Road (in the 25th mile, 50 yards east of the 4th furlong post) stands a fine lofty mausoleum. Its occupant is Mrs. Susanna A. M. Yeates (1809). She was formerly the wife of Pieter Brueys, and left, together with other charitable bequests, a large piece of ground to be used as a graveyard. But as the existing cemetery was enlarged in 1833, Mrs. Yeates, land (we learn from the *Hughli Medical Gazetteer*) was never used for the purpose.

In conclusion it may be added that many of the above facts have already appeared in an article (by the present writer) headed "The Dutch Capital of Bengal" which was contributed to the *Statesman* about a year ago.

E. W. M.



CHINGULALI CEMETERY.
Grave of Adenana H'yer.



CHINGULALI CEMETERY.
Grave of Rev. N. Lyth.



LADY CANNING.



LORD CANNING.



LORD MACAULAY.



LORD ELGIN.

Members' Note Book.



Y courtesy of Miss Perry of Barrackpore we reproduce four interesting old photographs.

This portrait of Lord Canning "photographed from life" by Mayall, 224, Regent Street, London) forms the frontispiece to Vol. II of Dr. E. H. Nolan's *History of the British Empire in India*, and also appears in an Album of the Portraits of the Governors-General published in Calcutta some years ago.

That of Lady Canning is by H. Hering, "Photographer to the Queen," 137, Regent Street. Without mention of the photographer's name it was reproduced in Augustus J. C. Hare's *The Story of Two Noble Lives* (Charlotte, Countess Canning, and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford). The date of both these pictures is about 1855.

This portrait of Lord Macaulay is not one of the more familiar ones to be met with in His Lordship's collected works, but the likeness is unmistakeable. It was taken, also about the year 1855, long after Macaulay's return from India, presumably by an amateur.

Although of later date, the picture of James Bruce, 8th Earl of Elgin and 12th of Kincardine and the second Viceroy of India, is for several reasons the most interesting. It was taken at "Peterhoff," the old Viceregal residence at Simla, in the summer of 1863, the year of His Excellency's death.¹ Mr. G. M. Wrong's *Life of Lord Elgin* contains a picture which, from its similar background and accessories, may be considered another "sitting" of this one, except that it includes Lady Elgin and Lady Louisa Bruce. The name of the artist is not given, but the *Directory* for that particular year shows there was at Simla a photographer named C. W. De Russett. He was, by the way, the father of Charles De Russett who is known as the European (or rather Eurasian) Fakir of Simla.

Although Daguerreotype photographs (on glass or plates of silvered copper) were popular before 1855, that year may perhaps be taken to mark the time *carte-de-visite* photographs came into fashion in Calcutta, for the names of Photographic Artists (apart from Portrait-Painters) began to appear in the classified trade lists of the *Calcutta Directory* for 1856. The first three to start were Herr Krumholtz, Mr. Newland and Herr Reinecke, none of whom are remembered to-day. After the short interval of two or three years, however, they were followed by Mr. F. W. Baker who is still living in Calcutta. Among those still existing the premier firm is Messrs. Bourne and

Shepherd, established in 1851. They started at Agra, where the firm was known as Shepherd and Robertson, and subsequently opened a branch at Simla. May they long continue to enjoy their well-earned reputation !

E. W. M.

THE Postcards Sub-Committee wish to draw the attention of Members to the several series of photographic and process postcards which have been recently brought out by the Society. These comprise a historical series of ten process cards which include Lord Clive, Francis Rawdon, first Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General 1813-1823, an early eighteenth century view of "Fort William at Bengal," the old Sans Souci Theatre in 1840 ; the remaining cards of this series depict several places of interest which the Society has visited on recent tours, Serampur, the old fort moat at Shamnagar, and the grave of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings. The photographic postcards issued under the title of the Ochterlony Series is in three groups of twelve each and have been specially reproduced by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, official photographers to the Society, from a series of rare and valuable plates belonging to our Vice-President, Mr. Justice Rampini. The name Ochterlony has been given to the series in view of the fact that the full set of thirty-six cards forms a panoramic view such as might have been seen of Calcutta from the summit of the monument. They are taken mainly from pictures "Drawn from Nature and on Stone by Wm. Wood Jnr." as the title page of the volume describes, about 1829, printed by Engelmann, Graf and Coindet, Lithographers to His Majesty, and published in 1833.

Series No. 1 consists of views of Esplanade Row, Old and New Chandpal Ghat, Garden Reach, three views of Government House, Old Tank Square, showing the original Holwell Monument and Writers Buildings, Esplanade West and East, and a particularly fine reproduction of Van Ryne's "Fort William in the Kingdom of Bengal" published by Act of Parliament 1754. Some of the views in this set are by James B. Fraser, engraved by Robert Havell Junior, published by Smith Elder and Co. but unfortunately undated.

Series No. 2 takes us along Chowringhee from "Oil Bazaar" close to where Messrs. Whiteway, Laidlaw's now stands to a little beyond the site of Messrs. Kellner and Co.'s premises. The "General Post Office" site is now covered by Messrs. Mason, Hill & Rogers', the "Entrance to the Sudderdewany Adalat" (native Court of Justice) marks where Sudder Street now stands and a portion of the ground covered by the Museum, Kyd Street, Park Street showing the "Asiatic Society's House" and the situation occupied by Messrs. Hall and Anderson opposite the "General Tank," all these views are by Wood and were drawn from nature about 1829.

Series No. 3 continues along Chowringhee giving Middleton Street, a corner of the (old) "Bishop's Palace," Harrington Street, named after a Justice Harrington who, I believe I am right in saying, was a great grand uncle of the present Mr. Justice Harrington. "Theatre Road and the Theatre," Ballard's Buildings, the New (now the Old) General Hospital, believed to have been built under contract by Padre Kiernander who gave the Mission Church to Calcutta. Old Alipur Bridge, Kidderpore Bridge, and a quaint view of the interior of the Fort depicting the weird military dress of the period. The two last cards of this series are reproduced from ShepKitchen's original plate of 1756 which now belongs to Mr. de G. Downing shows the river frontage of Calcutta.

The Historical Series of ten may be purchased singly at two annas per copy, application should be made to Mr. de G. Downing, 2, Camac Street, and the Ochterlony series of three sets of twelve each at two rupees per set of twelve or six rupees the full series of thirty-six from Messrs. Bourne and herd, 8, Chowringhee, who will be glad to send them to Members on receipt of a postcard.

Members are recommended to purchase full sets of the Ochterlony series as they form an unique panoramic collection and the number of sets available is limited.

The Postcard Sub-Committee hope shortly to place further series on sale which will probably include "Bishops of Calcutta," "Old St. John's" and the "Society's Tours."

A systematic collection of the Society's postcards as issued from time to time will, undoubtedly, form a most interesting and valuable collection.

It may be noted here that photographs of all tours can now be had from the Society's Photographers, Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, 8, Chowringhee. This information may be interesting for those who propose to make collections of views.

DE G. D.

[The following letter from my friend, Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford, was not written for publication, but it contains so much valuable information that I have sought and obtained permission to publish it *in extenso*.—Ed., B. P. and P.]

CHINSURAH, 13th November 1907.

MY DEAR FIRMINGER,

I have been intending to write to you for some time, to congratulate you on the way in which you are turning out *Bengal: Past and Present*. When the first number came out, I thought it first rate, but hardly expected you to keep up to that level with succeeding numbers. However, the second number is quite as good as the first, if not better.

There are some points in the October number on which I should like to make a few remarks, if it does not bore you too much to read them.

Page 169. As to whether the issue should continue in its present form. Personally I think it could hardly be bettered. As regards a monthly issue, instead of quarterly, I fancy that, after the first enthusiasm dies down, it will be difficult to get matter enough to fill a quarterly, let alone a monthly issue. By all means, say I, let it go on as begun.

Page 133. J. A. Crawford was my father. I never heard before the anecdote you quote, but it sounds probable, just like him and is undoubtedly amusing.

Page 160. Golgotha. I have seen the name given to Calcutta in several old books, though unfortunately I have not kept notes. Of course, it is derived from a mixture of "Golghat," the old name for Hughli, and Kalikata, which sounds not unlike Golgotha. No doubt the river banks have changed their appearance several times in the past two and a half centuries. But, curiously, a large whirlpool or "Golghat" is still the most marked feature of the bank of the river on the Hughli side. It lies just in front of the jail, about 100 yards south of the Jubilee Bridge, by which the railway from Naihati to Bandel Junction crosses the river. Perhaps the now existing whirlpool may owe its existence to the building of the bridge, which was commenced in 1882, completed in 1887.

Page 162. The Saraswati. You ask "Has the Saraswati entirely disappeared?" By no means. It may be seen leaving the Hughli just below Tribeni Ghat. For several miles it has a small bed, some 15 or 20 feet broad, with a larger old bed with high banks, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in, broad in some places. The E.I.R. crosses it by a long three span iron bridge which I think is the largest bridge between Howrah and Bardesan, about a mile south of Magra Station. At Tribeni itself the road to Guptipara and Kalna (the old Calcutta-Murshidabad road), crosses the Saraswati by a large suspension bridge. Between this bridge and the river are the ruins of a small masonry bridge. The Grand Trunk Road crosses the Saraswati by a large bridge, about half a mile west of the railway bridge just after the 31st milestone. The ruins of an older bridge, of which only the piers remain, may be seen close by. The Hughli-Polta road crosses it by a large three span masonry bridge, about a mile west of Bandel Junction. The Hughli-Dhaniakhali road crosses it by another large bridge about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile west of Chinsurah Station. From Tribeni to this bridge, I think that it is never dry, even in the hot weather, though it dwindles down to a very feeble trickle of water in summer. In the rains the smaller bed is full, and when the Hughli is in high flood most of the larger beds may be covered too.

The map of the district shows the Saraswati as flowing southward into Howrah district, and I have always understood that it joins the Hughli at Sankrail, below the Botanical Gardens, or at least used to do so.



THE SARASVATI AT SAIGANG.

(*Photograph by Major G. E. Weigall, R. A. Block kindly
lent by Raj Kumar Manindra Deb Rai Mahasai.*)

I have not seen the Saraswati south of the Dhaniakhali road. I believe that it is connected by a cross cut with the Kunti Khal (or Damudar Kana Nadi) at a place called Gopalnagar, a little north of Singur. Certainly there is no river to be seen, or anything like the scale on which the Saraswati is seen further north, on the railway line from Sheorapuli to Tarakeswar, and this line must cross the old channel of the Saraswati somewhere.

The old bed of the Saraswati is probably the "broad and deep ditch" on the north bank of which the English artillery was posted at the battle of Biderra, fought between the English under Colonel Forde and the Dutch under Roussel, on 25th November 1759 (Broome, *History of Bengal Army*, Appendix L, which is the Dutch account of the battle, copied from Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*, Broome's own account of the battle is at page 270).

The old course of the Hughli river, I believe, was down the Saraswati from Tribeni to Sankrail, thence *up* Garden Reach, along Tolly's Nullah to Garia, where it again turned to the south, and flowed along the Garia Khal, a small stream which is still called the Ganga Nadi or Burha Ganga. This Khal passes Rajpur and Baruipur, finally loses itself in the lowlands further south, through which the Hughli once made its way to the sea.

To this day this course represents the sacred river. For this sacred character of the Ganges is retained by Tolly's Nullah and the Burha Ganga past Garia; while the Hughli below Tolly's Nullah is not a sacred stream.

The ruins of Satgaon lie on the south bank of the Saraswati where the E.I.R. and the Grand Trunk Road cross it and from there to Trishbigha Station. However, Satgaon is so old that there is practically nothing left. What ruins are left, a mosque and a few tombs, are not more than 300 or 400 years old. (Described by Blochmann, Vol. 39, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Part I for 1870, pp. 280-81, and Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 306). There is also the pedestal of a large pillar a little south-west of the mosque. These ruins, by the bye, are on the west of the Grand Trunk Road, just before (south of) the Saraswati and only some 15 or 20 yards from the road.

On the east of the road and on the south-east bank of the Saraswati, there is a quadrangular mass of high ground, the soil of which seems to consist of broken brick, worn to powder. It is locally known as the "Qila" or Fort, and one can imagine that ships came down the Saraswati from Tribeni and lay alongside its river wall to discharge their cargoes. Farther east are a number of tanks (between E.I.R. and Grand Trunk Road), one of which, known as Jehangir's tank, is of considerable size.

Page 163. The Damudar. This river has also made considerable changes in its course from time to time. Its present course is well known, it runs past Burdwan, on the south of the town, in a south-easterly direction, then at Sulalpur, some 15 miles south-east of Burdwan, it makes an abrupt bend to

the south, and flows southward through the Hughli and Howrah districts, joining the Hughli some distance below Ulubaria.

Originally the Damudar used to continue its course in a south-easterly direction, joining the Hughli at Nayasarai, two miles above Tribeni. A glance at the map will show that Nayasarai is almost in a straight line with the present course of the Damudar where it passes Burdwan.

The proof that the country, in this line, was once the bed of a great river lies in the huge deposits of sand beneath the alluvial soil in this line. Great quantities of sand used to be dug up at Magra, some two miles inland from Nayasarai and exported in boats to Calcutta, for building and other purposes. It is a common sight at Chinsurah, at certain times of the year, to see large fleets of 20 or more boats, loaded to the gunwale with sand, passing down the river *en route* from Magra to Calcutta. The deposits at Magra now are, or are getting, worked out. Sand is now being excavated all along the course of the Bengal Provincial Railway, which runs pretty much in the course of this old river, at Sultangachia, Dwarbasini, and Milki stations. Thence it is railed down the Bengal Provincial Railway to Tribeni, whence it is shipped in boats to Calcutta.

There are no traces of the bed of this old river to be seen above ground now.

THE SONG OF THE ELEPHANTS.

THOSE who have never heard the Elephants sing, as they swing along on a crisp clear wintry morning, can never know quite what it is that they are telling you ; there is a lilt with their long drawn out monotone strangely seasoned with an infusion of confused Gilbertian humour ; but those who have heard it know all about it, and they know that it goes just like this.

Here's a howdah do—
 We must carry you,
 Party, classy,
 Hathi—Plassey,
 Here's a howdah do—
 Here's a howdah do.
 Here's a ding-dong-dell,—
 Swing the clanging bell,
 We must go a C. H. S.-ing.
 Why or wherefore there's no guessing.
 Here's a ding-dong-dell—
 Swaying goes the bell.
 Here's a state of things—
 To our backs they clings.
 Jangle, jingle,
 Jungle mingle
 Man and maiden pair'd and single.
 All the welkin rings,

Here 's a state of things.
 Here 's a pretty mess
 For three hours or less
 Let them learn our jungle motion,
 (What its like they have no notion.)
 Here 's a C. H. S.
 Here 's a pretty mess.
 Hear the jungle call together
 Bird and brute and fur and feather
 While the winds caress—
 Here 's a pretty mess.
 Whiskers, wings, and slings !
 To our backs they clings—
 Howdah-sell and ankus shaking
 Greet them just as dawn is breaking
 When the young sun flings
 Light from off his wings.
 Ding-dong-dell and plod a tandem,
 Pluck the cane and pack at random,
 Send the sounding bell a swinging,
 Hear the jungle calling, singing—
 Ding-dong-ding-dong-dell—
 Ding-dong-ding-dong-dell—
 There the Frenchman fell,
 There the Moslem host went flying,
 Here our sires trod quick and dying—
 Jaffar turned and Clive was master
 Horse and foot fled faster—faster—
 And our sires, their flanks all streaming
 Crashed and crushed where helms were gleaming—
 Ripping roads of red disaster
 (Jaffar blanched and Clive was master)
 Through the ruthless press—
 Here 's a pretty mess.
 There was snared the flying fowler
 Nawab Khan Sooraj-oo-dowlah.
 Here 's a howdah do.
 Dowlah-dowlah-doo.

DAK.



Personal Memories and Reminiscences of the Calcutta Cyclone of the 5th October 1864.



IN the last week of September 1864 I was in pilotage charge of the inward bound barque *Newville Ascension* and sailing up the Hughli. On, or about the 25th September, we had got as far as Budge-Budge, when the southerly winds, which had carried us thus far against the strong freshets, gave out, but with a light breeze, next morning, we, in company with the ship, *Victoria Bridge*, which was in charge of Mr. Lloyd, pilot, started to proceed up, and, on getting to the crossing from Jarmakers to Moonekolly Point, the wind fell away to almost a calm. We had, therefore, to anchor just below that point, in about 14 fathoms of water, at high tide, to prevent the young ebb freshet (then making down) from setting us on to the head of the sand. But Mr. Lloyd was more fortunate with his charge, and, by aid of a tow-boat with eleven rowers, he just managed to crawl into Sangral Reach, and so, out of the violent eddies for which the hole, in which I was anchored, was, and still is, renowned during the ebbs of the freshets, on account of the abrupt turns and crooks in the channel hereabouts.

We had been at anchor, perhaps, half an hour during which time three ships had safely passed up in tow on our starboard side, when a fourth, the ship *Calumet* in tow of the *Forbes* attempted to pass us on our port side, but, all of a sudden, one of those boiling eddies arose and carried the steam-tug right across our bows to starboard, and the ship at the same time slewed rapidly round heading for our port gangway and rammed us stem on, her anchor crashing through our bulwarks. Then was exhibited a performance which few seamen have witnessed in a lifetime, as we both gyrated round and round, locked together as we were, for a considerable time, the *Calumet's* jibboom ever and anon first crashing against the foremast threatening to bring it down about our ears; and then the main mast in the same way, as the angry eddies swerved round. But we eventually got clear of each other, and afterwards, when we picked our anchor up, we found six complete turns of the ship's towing hawser around our chain cable; the tug having slipped the end as she ran across our hawse. I mention the above to show the peculiarity of this part of the Hughli navigation.

We arrived in Calcutta on the 27th September and the vessel was moored inshore just below Princep's Ghât.

On the 2nd October 1864, when at home in my residence at No. 112, Circular Garden Reach Road, which is now in the watershed by the bridge over the Docks, just below the Tram Depôt, I called a friend into the north verandah and pointed out to him some heavy thunder-heads and towering cumulo-stratus, telling him that those sort of sky effects was a sure precursor of a heavy gale of wind to sailors at sea.

On the 4th of October having had an order to pilot the ship *Hindustan* (Captain Dunlop) to sea, I was to have met the Captain at his Agent's on the 5th in order to see what tug steamer was to tow us. At about 7 A.M., on that day, Mr. David Scott, a brother pilot and near neighbour, wrote over and asked me to give him a lift into town in my carriage, but I wrote back saying I thought my horse would not make much headway against the strong north-east wind then blowing, and that we had better wait and see what it was like after breakfast. However, whilst we were at breakfast an extremely heavy gust of wind passed over (I think the same "strong wind (which) came up" as given at page 114 of the Journal) and I remarked that the Captain of my ship would have quite enough to do to-day to look after his chain cables without troubling about hauling out of moorings and looking after tug boats, and so the sequel proved : for after we hurried through with breakfast, I made myself busy with all the available rope-chest lashings and what not—to secure the rattling windows, etc., for the wind by this time was howling frightfully, and still increasing in strength with every fresh gust. Now, as to the actual wind force, it so happened that in an inner room, we had a skylight, and the force of the hurricane had crashed in some of the panes of glass, so that the rain was pouring down in streams. My friend, Mr. John King, and I resolved to try and nail a piece of canvas around it : for that purpose, we provided ourselves with the requisites and proceeded upstairs to the house-top which we reached by the door and which we quickly fastened behind us, but had great trouble to secure it before it got blown away off its hinges. But now another difficulty, and a serious one, faced us, for we found that we were powerless to stand erect amidst the eddies, lateral and vertical, which the hurricane formed as it shot over the parapet, and had both to lay flat on the wet roof whilst we performed the task which we had come up there to do ; and I remember what a relief I felt when safe inside the bolted door again, with no more fear of being taken bodily up and whirled away over the four-foot parapet, as the weight of our bodies on the roof felt as if we were nothing (an experience, which I went through on the occasion of the cyclone of 1867, and that of 1874, on the pilot brigs at the Sandheads). A short time after coming down from the roof I was looking through the lee window

shutter and saw the tarpaulin, which we thought we had well secured, flying away like a demon bird in the hurricane at the rate of 100 miles an hour. Nothing could remain on the roof.

The wind by this time had veered round to south-east, from which quarter it certainly blew its hardest, in proof of which all the trees of the district, which had hitherto stood the severe test, succumbed and fell to its force from that quarter of the compass. But about 2 P.M. the wind getting more southerly, the strength of the hurricane seemed to be rapidly exhausting itself; and later on rifts began to show in the leaden canopy over head. Gradually things began to look brighter, but, about 4 P.M., we found we had over two feet of water in our compound, and that the roadway outside was submerged by some eight inches of water (due, I surmise, to the storm-wave which had passed up the river some time before). Although this stormwave did a deal of destruction it did not come up to that "which swept away 300,000 souls on the 7th of October 1737 and which rose to 40 feet in the Hughli." Nor, more recently, the one in the Megna in 1876, which destroyed about as many human beings. (*Vide Records at the Meteorological Office.*)

And so the storm passed away. Early next morning we started off to go and look after the welfare of the shipping, more especially of my vessel, the *Hindustan*, and on arriving at Princep's Ghât we saw the great havoc and devastation which the hurricane had caused: but strange to say the *Newville Ascension* (which I had piloted up eight days before) was the only ship remaining afloat at that spot, and she was only hanging on by one cable; and some of her "sticks" were gone:—The poor old craft! it was not enough that but a week before the ship *Calumet* had knocked a hole in her side, but that the cyclone had made her badly "tail the river bank," and so cause injury below: the result being that ultimately she was condemned, sold, and became a port police hulk.

The Strand Road was beautifully cleaned evidently by the rush of the storm waters from the river having swept over it yesterday. Well, as we arrived at the Eden Gardens we saw the *dinghy* men bringing their boats down from amongst the shrubs and trees on bullock hackeries: where the storm wave had swept them. On and on we went upwards towards Armenian Ghât where I saw my ship moored two days ago. And I cannot do better than refer readers to the—I might say—lifelike photographs of the wreckage and shipping on both banks of the river, which are on view at the Imperial Library, Metcalfe Hall, Calcutta, and which, by the kind courtesy of Mr. Madge, I was able to avail myself of and go through; I must say how vividly these pictures recall to my mind what I saw on that day as we drove along the Strand Road. Well, we came to Metcalfe Hall and the Bankshall (where now stands the Sailors' Home) and opposite to the latter we saw the Apar

liner, the S.S. *Thunder*, aground on the river bank steen on, and with her bowsprit right over the Strand Road (exactly as is to be seen in the above photos). On we went past Armenian Ghât, but no *Hindustan* there, and we at last, after passing Chitpore Bridge, found her at Cossipore, hard and fast on the bank, near Anderson Wallace and Co.'s premises, with fore and mizzen topmasts, and both anchors gone, and rudder disabled : but to make up for the loss of both her anchors which were torn away from her catheads in the *mêlée*, some kindly unknown ship dropped another one on her deck during their mad run up the river. I piloted her to sea the next May. I might here say her picture comes out well in the photographs above referred to, and I well remember it all, as if only yesterday—the signboard and the topography of the spot—it all came back to me as I looked on the pictures so faithfully given.

On the 8th of October I went down the river with Captain T. Stone in the tug steamer *Mary Grant* and it was truly pitiful to see the amount of devastation that met our eyes as we proceeded downwards. There were floating in the tide, hut-roofs or choppers, with furniture of sorts, carcasses of animals, but the innumerable corpses we saw showed but too well the havoc that had been made with human life in the villages on the banks of the river—most sorrowful proofs of what the dire visitation had done even as far down as Hughli Point. I remember how grieved I felt on arriving abreast of Oolaburia to see what a clean sweep had been made of what was a flourishing, busy township when I passed sailing in the bright sunny evening and the police inspector with his wife and children standing on the embankment, looking so happy and watching us gliding on. Possibly they all perished in that cruel storm-impelled rush of seething waters of which we read in the "Report of the Calcutta Cyclone of October, 1864," as having been especially severe at this point.

Just above Hospital Point, on the left bank, three miles above Diamond Harbour Telegraph Station, we saw the ship *Baron Renfrew* landed on the embankment, and actually forming a bridge across a creek. She had been driven right up from Middle Point anchorage in the hurricane, at a draught of 21 feet, and must have come over dangerous sands in the Rangafulla Channel, for a distance of about 25 miles. At Middle Point we passed the partly submerged wreck of the emigrant ship *Ally* which foundered near the same anchorage from which the more fortunate *Baron Renfrew* drove during the hurricane : some 325 souls were drowned in her : and, amidst the bushes on the bank not far below Rangafulla Obelisk, and abreast of the wreck, on the left bank, for months afterwards their bleached remains could still be seen like an inverted graveyard. We passed the Government hospital ship *Bentinck* high and dry at Diamond Harbour. She was eventually broken up there as she lay on the left bank near the Telegraph Station. On

account of the disappearance and shifting of lightships and buoys we had some difficulty in wending our way through the intricacies of the navigation, but finally reached the Pilot Station and was glad to find that the pilot brig *Chinsurah*, with her two masts standing and all atanto, had managed to weather the storm and get back to her station—all well.

It may be of interest to know that a second cyclone, which did material damage to spars of shipping at the Sandheads, passed near the Pilot Station later on in this same month: more especially as the hurricane wind as observed was peculiar: concerning which my *Sandheads Sailing Directory* (a copy of which can be perused at the Imperial Library, Metcalfe Hall, or at Thacker, Spink and Co.) says, at page 189, para. 353, "and in some of the minor cyclones the winds are seen to carry the clouds along at hurricane speed aloft, whilst below, there may be only strong to fresh winds. I well remember, late in October, 1864, when on board the pilot brig *Chinsurah* at the Sandheads, a small second whirl followed the great cyclone of the 5th of that month up as far as the Pilot Station, and at 2 A.M., the Commander of the brig, Mr. T. Smart, summoned us pilots all on deck to stand by to assist in cutting the masts away, if it should be deemed necessary to do so. The wind was then howling up aloft, whilst, on deck, we had merely a moderate gale, and were able, without difficulty, to furl the awning out of the way."

Well, all this took place in the vicinity of the Eastern Channel Lightship, whilst on that self-same night the ship *Hotspur* (Captain H. Toynbee, rode it out at anchor somewhere near the Mutlah Lightship), losing her three top-gallant masts, although her top-gallant yards were on deck, and besides, each mast was secured by extra stays. I remember Captain Toynbee called my attention to this when I visited his vessel at Middle Point a few days afterwards, telling me how astonished both he and his officers were when they looked aloft during the breeze and saw the top-gallant masts hanging down a wreck. And, if I remember rightly, the pilot vessel, though her top-gallant yards were, like the *Hotspur's*, on deck, had both her top-gallant masts sprung. The ship *Alnwick Castle* lost her three topmasts at the cape, and the French barque *Bordeaux* also in the vicinity of the Sandheads, lost her two top-gallant masts. This peculiarity of the inequality of the wind force in different hurricane horizontal streams, may, I think, be read alongside the statement in the above-mentioned "Report on the Calcutta Cyclone," wherein the authors say, at page 149, "the mutual protection afforded by the crowded buildings of Calcutta may be held to account for the fact that their destruction was less than half as great as that suffered by the buildings at Dum-Dum and Cossipore. But greater exposure alone cannot be held sufficient to account for the extreme devastation of Barrackpore, nor will the greater proximity of that place to the central track satisfactorily account for

the excess, inasmuch as Chinsurah and Hughli are both much closer to the central calm, and on the same side of it as Barrackpore, while, being situated on the right bank of the river, they were even more exposed to the unbroken force of the wind than Barrackpore.

The destruction of trees, so far as we can gather from descriptions, was not less at Chinsurah and Hughli than at Barrackpore.

Still the fact remains as proven, that only some 60 to 80 feet above our heads, at stations 30 miles apart, the wind was blowing with hurricane force, whilst below, it was only a moderate gale.

SAMUEL R. ELSON,
Hughli Branch Pilot (Retd.)

CALCUTTA, 14th November 1907.



The Secretary's Pages.



DEAR PATRONS and Members will be glad to learn that the membership of the Society has now risen to 202 and a further increase is expected with the winter influx into the Capital. It is to be hoped that the anticipated increase will be substantial, since it is imperative that a Society like ours should have sufficient funds to fulfil its objects, one of the most essential of which is the promotion and encouragement of the study of the history of the Province. At present our Magazine, in some measure, works to this end ; but its publication quarterly instead of monthly is hardly sufficient to answer our purpose. It is impossible, however, to issue it monthly without increasing its cost. Then again, the Society is prepared to issue reprints of rare old books, maps, etc.; but here, as in the case of a monthly magazine, the want of sufficient funds is a serious obstacle. Another useful purpose the Society is anxious to serve is that of scientific research on a systematic basis. The excursions the Society has undertaken, so far, are instructive and interesting ; but we are desirous while continuing these excursions to extend this field of operation in a wider and more scientific direction. For instance, the question of carrying out certain archæological researches at Tumluk was recently mooted. The result of our work in this quarter would be valuable to Government as well as to the Society ; but to fit out a small party for this task would mean nothing less than a grant of Rs. 200 from the funds of the Society. Among other wants are, those of permanent rooms, a library of reference, and a reserve fund earmarked for purposes such as the putting up of tablets, etc. Government, it is true, has very kindly shown a disposition to render us all the help it can in the latter direction, for which the Society is duly grateful, but it is not the preservation of graves alone that is required. There are hundreds of old historical sites at present not known to the public which might be indicated by tablets. Although Government will, no doubt, help, it is distinctly our duty to take the initiative. Optimists among us may say that there is plenty of time for this sort of work. But let me assure them that this is not the case. The Calcutta Historical Society has been established just in the nick of time. Already old historical landmarks have disappeared and their sites been forgotten. Others are rapidly disappearing and in another few years we shall have lost sight of them forever. We have no time to lose. Our work is pressing and immediate. Under the circumstances it is highly desirable that members should endeavour to persuade as many of their friends as possible to join the Society and I have

no doubt that those interested in the good work we have set ourselves to do will help to push it forward. In this connection I might mention that donations of a hundred rupees each have been received from the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rampini and Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., for the purpose of defraying expenses for certain office furniture which was urgently needed.

I WOULD draw the attention of members to the publication of our Historical Picture Postcards. A special sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Downing, Corfield and Carne has been appointed and already a number of extremely interesting views are on sale. Views of old Calcutta about 1812 are for sale at Rs. 2 per set; while a selection of the following subjects are also obtainable at As. 2 per card :—

Lord Clive.

Francis Rawdon, Marquis of Hastings.

"Old Fort William in Bengal."

The "Sans Souci" Theatre.

St. Olaf's Church, Serampore.

The Old Mission Cemetery, Serampore.

The Carey Enclosure, Serampore.

The Ruins of the French Governor's Palace at Ghiretti.

The Grave of the first Mrs. Warren Hastings (at Berhampore).

The Moat of the old Fort at Shamnagar.

Other subjects are in preparation and it is hoped soon to be able to put a picture history of old Calcutta before the public. Applications for Post Cards may be made to Mr. de Grey Downing, Secretary, Postcard Sub-Committee, C. H. S., 2, Camac Street.

I WOULD remind members that I have still on hand a number of programmes of the Chinsurah, Bansberia and Plassey Excursions for sale, the two former at 4 annas each and the last at a rupee. These programmes are extremely useful as short guides to places on both banks of the Hughli, and, as the Society is very frequently undertaking river excursions, these should certainly be acquired by every member. The guides are compiled by Rev. Firminger—a fact which in itself is a guarantee of their accuracy. The programme of the recent excursion to Plassey, Berhampore and Cossimbazar is well got up and contains interesting details of the famous battle as well as a map and views of Plassey and Clive's Barracks at Berhampore.

THE Committee agreed to a suggestion, some time ago, to adopt badges for Councillors and ex-Councillors of the Society. These have now arrived and are available at Rs. 12 each. I shall be glad if those Councillors

who have not already got their badges will kindly write me for them. The badges for Councillors in office carry a pale blue riband, while those for ex-Councillors have dark red; the latter will come into use after the Annual General Meeting.

I HAVE received several complaints about the non-receipt of *Bengal: Past and Present* by members. I have accordingly made enquiries of our publishers, who undertake the distribution of the magazine and have found that although in a few solitary cases names have been overlooked in very many more the magazines have been delivered at members' houses and signed for by their durwans and bearers though apparently never given over to their addressees. I hold receipts now for magazines which their addressees say they have not received. It will be seen therefore that the situation is somewhat perplexing, to say the least of it. Under the circumstances I think it would be advisable for members to inform me of the exact time and place at which their magazines should be delivered. I might mention that the publishers complain that in some cases magazines have been returned to their peons with the remark that "the sahib does not live here." This has happened in cases where members have given their club addresses. Unless instructions are expressly issued to the Babu or Durwan of the club, this difficulty must arise. I would ask therefore that gentlemen furnish me with their private addresses unless they are *bonâ fide* residents of clubs. If necessary, I shall bring this matter up for discussion before the Committee. In the meantime I shall be glad of any suggestions from members as to a safe and reliable system of distributing the magazine.

IT is rather a pity that we are not in a position at present to indulge in the luxury of a permanent set of rooms. The Society has already received gifts of books, etc., and it would be a distinct advantage to have these displayed where members could see and appreciate them. Among the most recent of these presentations are three numbers of the *Indian Medical Gazette* containing valuable articles by Dr. C. R. Wilson, Lieutenant-Colonel, D. G. Crawford and the late Major D. M. Moir on the early Hospitals of Calcutta presented to the Society by Lieutenant-Colonel W. J. Buchanan, B.A., M.B. Colonel Buchanan, it will be remembered, compiled an interesting note on this subject for the last number of our Magazine. Another gift is that of a cannon ball presented by Mr. Samuel R. Elson, Branch Pilot (retired). The shot, Mr. Elson tells us, was found while excavating the foundations of the present Port Office and is stated to be one of the shots fired from Admiral Watson's ship *Kent* during the re-taking of Calcutta.

I AM indebted to my esteemed friend Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library for the following interesting note :—

Some of our readers may remember the mild excitement caused among the Anglo-Indian reading public thirty-two years ago on the publication of the novel entitled *The Chronicles of Dustypore*. Its author was Mr. (now Sir) Henry Stewart Cunningham, Advocate-General of Madras, who not long afterwards became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and married a daughter of Lord Lawrence.

In that inimitable series of open *Letters to Eminent Indians*, 1885, by "Sadyk Dost," the writer addresses Sir Lepel H. Griffin, formerly Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, in the following terms :—"The learned Judge to whose officious interference we in Calcutta mainly owe the commission of enquiry now sitting on our ill-used Municipality, once devoted his leisure to the more harmless pursuit of literature, some of whose bye-paths his discursive and superficial mind is fitted to follow. *The Chronicles of Dustypore* (Lahore), his one ewe-lamb of a novel, was supposed to be a picture gallery of Punjab personages, among whom you figured as the naughty man or Lothario."

"E. W. M." sends us the following "Key" to the characters, which was afforded in a letter addressed to a lady in Calcutta by an exalted official well known in Indian Society at the time (1875) but who is no longer living.

"Dustypore is Lahore; Elysium Simla. Felicia is Mrs. Waterfield ('R. H. W.') to whom the book is dedicated. Des Vœux is Lepel Griffin of the Civil Service. Fotheringham is Mr. Lindsay and Sutton is Brigadier Keayes and two other Punjab heroes rolled into one. You will understand why I do not mention who Maud is. In my opinion it is not so good as the English reviewers make out, but it is well enough for an Indian novel."

Apart from several legal works, Sir H. S. Cunningham had already written *Wheat and Tares* and *Late Laurels* before the one referred to by Sadyk Dost as "his one-ewe lamb of a novel," namely, *The Chronicles of Dustypore*, which he followed up with *The Cœruleans; a Vacation Idyll; The Heriots* and *Sibylla*. It may be added that the "Cœruleans" stand for the Nilgiris (or blue mountains) while Mr. Chichelé, who guided the fortunes of the place, is doubtless intended for the late Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, Governor of Madras in the 'eighties.

AN item of news which will undoubtedly prove of the greatest interest to members is the discovery in Calcutta by Colonel W. H. Michael, the United States Consul-General, of a life size portrait of George Washington presented by certain merchants of Boston and Philadelphia to Babu Ramdoolal Dey, a Calcutta millionaire who flourished in the early eighteen hundreds. I may mention that Colonel Michael has very kindly consented to read a paper

on the Bengali Millionaire and the presentation to him of the famous picture, at an early date. It is hoped that it will be possible to exhibit the picture on this occasion.

I HAVE received some good photographs of the Plassey Excursion from Mr. S. A. Perris of the firm of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., but unfortunately they will have to be held over for our next magazine. We owe our thanks to Mr. Perris for his kind gift.

ROBERT DUNBAR,
Honorary Secretary.



NEW MEMBERS.

NAME.	ADDRESS.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1908.
Bradley Birt, F. B., I.C.S.	<i>United Service Club</i>	23rd January.
Perris, S. A.	<i>18, Lower Chitpore Road</i>	"

BENGAL : PAST & PRESENT.

(JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.)

PRICE, RS. 3-8.

TO BE HAD OF THE PUBLISHERS, 300, BOWBAZAR STREET, MESSRS.
W. NEWMAN & Co., DALHOUSIE SQUARE. MESSRS. THACKER,
SPINK & Co., GOVERNMENT PLACE, OR THE HONORARY
SECRETARY, 36, ELGIN ROAD, CALCUTTA.

VOL. II.

APRIL, 1908.

No. 2.

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PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS BY W. E. P. HUME AND PUBLISHED BY THE
CALCUTTA GENERAL PRINTING COMPANY, AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS,
300, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA.

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H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad.
(*Photograph by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd.*)

Bishop Wilson and the Second Earl of Clare.

A CHAPTER IN THE SECRET HISTORY OF STEAM
NAVIGATION.—(*Conclud.*)



LORD CLARE'S indignation at Lord W. Bentinck's abandonment of the plan of sending the mails from Bombay in favour of a scheme for establishing a communication from Calcutta was not unmixed with the fear that Parliament was about to reduce the Governor of Bombay to the rank of a Lieutenant-Governor. The following letter will at least show the nature of Lord Clare's anticipations of the new India Bill which had been before the consideration of Parliament, but the terms of which had not as yet reached India.

PARELI, December 15th, 1833.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—Two words only on the subject of steam which concerns you and not me, for I shall be far away long before it can be of any real advantage to India.

I find there must be two depôts at Socotra if the steamer stops there, one for the South-West and another for the North-East Monsoon: this, even supposing the place secure, will be costly.

I see Captain Johnson, a practical man, thinks the scheme impracticable. You see it is not approved at Madras, nor will it, I apprehend, in the Upper Provinces. I see but one chance of uniting all India to the Home authorities. Send here the *Forbes*: and with the *Hugh Lindsay* commence, as soon as may be, four trips direct to Suez, and, when the overland mails reach Bombay, let them be sent express by any number of *cossids* to Calcutta. Depend upon it you will get your answers much quicker *via* Bombay than *via* Socotra and Galle. I should say it is now too late to start before the next monsoon, but from the first of next October you may keep up a quick communication for eight months with England. I shall be gone, so am quite indifferent on the subject so far as I am concerned, but I throw this out as the only best way of settling this foolish dispute. I shall never cease regretting that the Governor-General committed himself with the Calcutta Committee after his communication to us.

I long for the result of the debates in the Lords on the India Bill, where we all hope here it will be changed considerably. The interference of Bengal at Bombay and Madras will be a vicious system of Government. Who would stay to be called a Governor and (be) in reality a deputy? Better appoint Commissioners.

Your faithful servant,
CLARE.

PARELL, *December 22nd, 1833.*

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 3rd on the subject—the sad subject—of steam. I can say but little except to repeat to you that as the success depended on Government I shall ever regret that the Governor-General allowed the Calcutta Committee to recede and to sow dissension and disunion in a cause for the success of which the union of all India is indispensable. I fear dust has been thrown in his eyes by Messrs. Greenlaw, McNaghten *et hoc genus omne*. I have read a very sensible letter you have addressed to the Madras Advocate-General. Four-fifths of India, depend upon it, will be against the wild plan of Galle and Socotra. I am surprised at all events that if the Governor-General was determined to sanction the experiment, he did not insist on its being tried in conjunction with Madras and Bombay, so that the *Forbes* and the *Hugh Lindsay* might start alternately from Calcutta and Bombay on these experimented trips. At present, as Lord William has thrown us over, we can make no arrangement with England about letters, and the whole concern is at a standstill. I look upon it as lost.

I am exceedingly amused by an article which I read lately in one of your papers. It gave an awful account of the disastrous state of the Upper Provinces—famine, dissolution, misery, and all manner of horrors afflicting the country and then *pour comble* it added the Tories are coming into office at home, and then—pray, my Lord Bishop, get your salts and sal volatile that you may read what follows—and then, India is to be blessed with Lord Clare as Governor-General and Sir Frederick Adam as Commander-in-Chief. I think this awful intelligence very distressing—don't you my Lord Bishop? But how fortunate I am that instead of marks of astonishment the writer did not put notes of interrogation as was the case when Mrs. Barber Branment visited Queen Caroline. "Wonderful," said the *Courier*, "but who is she?" I remember when Ellenborough proposed to Mr. Astell, then in the chair of the Court Directors, to send me here, the Sovereign of the East told the President of the Board of Control: "He may make an angel of a Governor, but I protest, my Lord Ellenborough, I never heard of such a person." Luckily there was an Irish Peerage on the table, and Astell was satisfied it was no hoax. Still he required time to consider, and when he left the Board, he went to the House of Commons and began asking questions right and left about me (a fact). "Is he honest, sober, attentive to his business?" Spring Rice and others satisfied him that I had a decent sort of a character, and the next day he told Lord Ellenborough he would propose my name to the Court. It would, however, be a very different question if they wanted to send me to succeed Lord William. An old son and devoted admirer of Mother Church has no chance of promotion now-a-days. Quiet the apprehension of Messrs. Greenlaw and McNaghten, and assure them (the truth) that I am going home early in 1835, if allowed to stay here so long.

I have no news from England later than the end of July, and we are now anxiously looking out for the August ships. The weather is delightful just now. I grieve to see in the papers Lady William has been again unwell.

If you can, pray think charitably of poor Byron. He had a heart—a rare thing in this selfish world.

I cannot in the true chambermaid style wish your Lordship in person "the compliments of the season," but I pray to God that you may succeed in all your plans to enlighten this benighted country, and that you may enjoy health and eternal happiness hereafter.

Believe me, etc.,
CLARE.

PARELL, *December 30th*, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—On the 30th of December, 1830, I embarked at Casseir on board the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer, and as I passed three months on the Red Sea Coast, I have witnessed all the horrors and all the delay of taking in coal. I have besides experienced the violence of the storm and the raging of the sea, in and beyond the Snails : believe me, therefore, at Calcutta you all under-rate the difficulties and imagine the communication can be effected with as great facility as in Europe. I never was more convinced in my life of the little practical knowledge your committee has than by the perusal of a letter sent to us officially yesterday by the Governor-General from Mr. M. Greenlaw to the Bengal Government about directing the Pacha of Egypt to order the Governor of Judda to ship the coals in one day ! ! The idea that a Turk would move one step from his divan and his pipe to give the slightest assistance to European impatience at not receiving their letters ! I will tell you what will be the result. Colonel Campbell will address Muhammet Ali, and His Highness will send his orders, and the Governor of Judda will not attend to them. Believe me, we are not much thought of at Judda, the gate of the Holy City. I was there for eight weeks. I came out in a public situation. I had firmans and janissaries from the Pacha. I had every aid from the then Governor of Judda, the most obliging of Turks in authority. He saw my impatience and really did his best to expedite my departure, but we expended three days in doing that which would have been done in six hours in England, and why ? We had no proper boats, nor baskets, nor men accustomed to the work, and had you witnessed the men at Judda and seen how they did their work, you would be satisfied first that, if you expect expedition with the shipment of coal, you must have at every depôt an active agent, good boats (sent there and kept in repair), large baskets, and intelligent men, otherwise the Arab fellahs will do their work in the native fashion and you will be disappointed.

I have now done with steam. I have done my best cordially to meet the views of the Governor-General both publicly and privately. He has thrown us over, so it is all in his hands ; but, unless I am mistaken, his plan will fail, and I think had he told the Bengal Committee he would not give any aid unless all the committees were united he would have brought them all to their senses. Instead of that, by your letter, he appears to have taken offence at the letter of the Bombay Committee, which, in deciding a matter of great national importance, I do not understand ; for really I think their cold [?] letter of no manner of importance. All now, therefore, that I shall do, will be to tell the Court and Board my honest and conscientious opinion that they may as well throw their money into the Red Sea as to give it in furtherance of the Galle and Socotra plan, making Calcutta the starting point ; and, as Bombay would gain as much getting from and sending its mails to Socotra and more, I believe than any port in India ; if you succeed, the Court will at least give me credit for sincerity. So now, my dear Lord Bishop, wishing you, the Governor-General, Messrs. Greenlaw and McNaghten all manner of success, and that I may write to your Lordship from England in 1835 and receive your answer *via* Suez, Socotra, Galle, and Calcutta by steam in the course of the same year, and that I may never hear one word more on the subject.

Believe me, etc.,
CLARE.

The following letter is described by Bishop Wilson as "my public letter of Dec. 21." This will account for its official tone.

TO THE RT. HON. THE LORD CLARE.

PALACE, CALCUTTA.

December 21st, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am much distressed at the position in which the whole question of the steam communication now appears to stand. My object, as your Lordship knows, from the first has been to act as a minister of peace. Judging of the facts with best deliberation within my power, and proceeding in every step with the cognizance of those best able to advise me, I had hoped to see everything take an amiable course. I need not say I know nothing of personal jealousies, newspaper squabbles, minute controversies. My desire was, and is, to aid by such counsel as it might be proper for a minister of the Gospel to suggest, the great design of uniting India and England, and opening the channel of all those civil, moral and religious benefits which a speedy intercourse may pour throughout this vast country. These feelings urged me to come forward in June, and up to the receipt of the reply of the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee of October 10th, I had the fullest persuasion that all was going on well. I had no more idea that the proposals of the Governor-General would have been declined than of the most incredible thing imaginable, and for this plain reason that I knew the success of the permanent communication must be dependent on Government, whose good will and munificent offers I conceived all India would rejoice to acknowledge.

I can assure your Lordship that the most cordial co-operation with the Bombay Committee, the firmest adherence to the plan of starting from that port, and the collation of our funds for the uncontrolled use of that respectable body would have followed the frank acceptance of the Governor-General's proposition. Had difficulties arisen in the development and execution of the plan, they would never have led us for a moment to diverge from the confidence we should have reposed in the Bombay gentlemen.

In what way, then, did the Bombay reply of October 10th disturb this harmony? And the union being now declined, what course can now best be pursued? These are the questions on which I would have the honour of submitting a thought or two for your Lordship's consideration.

The reply of the gentlemen of Bombay disturbed, and necessarily disturbed the harmony which prevailed and the expectations of co-operation which had been excited, because (1) it almost passed over the main point of the Calcutta proposal—the offer of the Supreme Government and the recommendation home. This was the point on which all turned. To have cast ourselves into the arms of the Supreme Government, and act upon the munificent offer made, was not only our interest, but our wisdom. The Bombay letter proceeds on the supposition of the Governor-General's recommendation home being rejected. It may be rejected undoubtedly, and nothing so likely to produce such a result as distrust and suspicion, but, surely the least measure of prudence should have led dependent and helpless bodies like three Presidency Committees to have hailed with acclamation the offers of a Supreme Government, which, by proposing a defined and temporary and (compared with the object) petty bonus, insured the compliance of the Home authorities, however they might have declined, and justly declined an undefined, enormous and permanent charge.

But, secondly, the reply of the Bombay gentlemen retained the joint stock scheme, a prompt and decided suspension of which at least was judged, and is now judged essential to a safe co-operation. Indeed, our primary resolution of June bound our Committee to enter

into no such obligations, which I am instructed to say cannot be evaded by the plan of making contributions under the form of gifts, but must be decidedly abandoned for a time, in order to render secure the property and interests of those who may be concerned. This one point is an insuperable objection in the eye of our Committee and all commercial gentlemen in this presidency to co-operation.

The Calcutta Committee's proposition, as respects the plan recommended by the Supreme Government, and on which the offers of aid depended, was declined in the Bombay reply. A quarterly communication was the proposition: a statement of the particular capabilities of the *Hugh Lindsay* was the reply. The grand principle of our Supreme Governor's offer was to establish a communication once a quarter. The amount of the reply was—such a particular vessel cannot perform it. Whereas had the main offer been acceded to (the Governor-General's aid accepted and the bonus reckoned on as a matter of just expectation), all would have flowed on smoothly. I mean, of course, if the joint stock scheme had been first decidedly suspended, and though the *Hugh Lindsay* had been found to be incapable of more than a single trip, nothing distressing or injurious to the co-operation would have arisen. But a cold reluctant offer of three distant trips in the course of some eighteen or twenty months, instead of a warm and ready compliance with the principle of an instant quarterly intercourse, appeared, I confess to my mind, not only a negation of our proposal, but a demonstration of the impracticability of our working together as Committees at all.

The question in fact put to the Committee by the secretary of your Lordship: "whether the proposal of the Calcutta Steam Committee respecting the employment of the steamer *Hugh Lindsay* was rejected by the committee at Bombay?" should have stood, as I humbly suggested, thus "whether the proposal of opening a quarterly communication between Bombay and Suez, on the footing of the total suspension of the joint stock scheme and of the efficient aid offered by the Governor-General in Council and recommended by his Lordship to the Home authorities, was rejected by the Bombay Committee." This comprehensive question would have brought out the adequate reply, which the more narrow one was scarcely likely to do.

Fourth, I do not enter on the question of funds, though our gentlemen here are unanimous, I believe, in thinking that this part of our proposal, namely, of uniting the subscriptions and contributions could not be said to be complied with, when your own division of them was to be kept in reserve for the execution of your own previous scheme, after the anticipated failure of the Governor-General's recommendation home should have occurred.

Such is my impression of the several respects in which the answer of the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee disturbed that harmony of action which would, on our part, have proceeded uninterruptingly to the accomplishment of the communication between Bombay and Suez, and I mention these merely to convince your Lordship that no petty feelings or partial views have governed our conduct. I am sure, as to myself, I should rejoice at this moment, abstractedly speaking, to start our plan from Bombay. I regret, and have never ceased to regret, that the reply of that committee has precluded our active co-operation in that primary design. Nor have I the slightest doubt of the purity of the motives of all the gentlemen of the Bombay Committee as well as of our own. Differences of opinion are so common between bodies, however respectably placed, at great distance, and especially when one has had the distinguished merit of originating a plan, which is the case now with the Bombay Committee, to which it naturally adheres and expects others to adhere, with equal tenacity, that I attribute the breach of union, rather to the circumstances of the case, than to any misapprehension of our mutual intentions.

The question which remains now is : *What is to be done?* I conceive the only practicable way is for the funds of the Bombay and Madras Committees to be employed, as is suggested in the close of the letter to your Lordship, in running a vessel between Bombay and Socotra, to fall in with our course to and from Suez. The decision of our Governor-General in Council is definitive. Our committee felt only too happy in acceding to the generous and prompt offer. Nothing now can arise to impede (if our subscribers concur in the resolutions which will be submitted to them, which it is presumed they will rejoice to do) the attempt to open the communication on this enlarged and new scheme. In the meantime we have the fullest confidence that the bonus of £20,000 for five years will be granted at home. Indeed the intimations of such a result are so numerous, that the Governor-General has thought it right, as might be expected, to declare that his recommendation was dependent on the determination of the Home Government. Two demi-official articles have appeared in the London newspapers, in addition the open declaration of the late President, Lord Ellenborough in his place in Parliament, which led to the persuasion that the measure is already under the consideration of the ministers of the Crown, and will only require the tidings of the subscriptions and efforts here to ripen into fixed acquiescence in the moderate and wise proposal of our noble Governor-General.

In regard to our own funds, we have sufficient for the three trips of the next year in May, August and November, or rather I should say for the attempt, for Government must after all establish the permanent steam communication till commercial enterprise has time to mark its success and calculate its cautious gains. Our funds in India can only make a demonstration. Whether that experiment succeeds or fails, our ultimate support from home is equally sure. England will take us up only with greater warmth, when our means are exhausted, and incorporate our design amongst the national institutions. Nor can I regret, as a whole, the course which things have taken, when I consider that long after the slight differences of feeling have subsided, a double experiment will have been accomplished—one already ascertained, of the practicability of rapid steam communication between Bombay and Suez ; the other now by circumstances prematurely put forward, of the practicability of a similar communication between Calcutta and Suez. The first complete for purposes of a post, but failing necessarily, as respects a large proportion of India, for passengers, packets, and freight. The other adequate, commensurate with the extent of the regions it traverses, and furnishing an experiment of the highest importance at this particular juncture.

It remains to calm all agitated feelings, to unite the hearts of those who, from diversities of judgment, are pursuing separate courses, to dismiss all past controversy, to allow to each other the honourable motives which I am sure direct all, to co-operate in all those subordinate points where our several schemes will still converge for the general good and the permanent establishment, around the whole of our vast peninsula, of this magnificent project. Before the gigantic magnitude of that project, our dwarfish misapprehension shrink into insignificance, and we have only to transport ourselves in imagination to a distance of fifty years to convince ourselves with what indifference we shall look back on the temporary divergences of opinion which terminated in so great a success. Yes, my Lord, I speak of success with no hesitating voice. For when I consider the multiplied and important interests involved in a speedy communication with England, and which seem all waiting, as it were, for the moment of starting from the goal, when I remember the lofty character Englishmen and their enterprising skill in the arts, and when I call to mind the mass of human happiness implicated in the application of the steam discovery to India and her almost unnumbered millions, I cannot doubt that this boon will be cheerfully

granted us by a generous nation; and that you, my Lord, with our Governor-General, Sir Frederick Adam and the gentlemen of our several Steam Committees, will rejoice in having expended on a demonstration followed by such results our munificent local subscriptions, which have amounted to a larger sum, have embraced a greater number of subscribers, and have been marked with a brighter dawn of public spirit in the princes and native gentry throughout the peninsula than has distinguished any other project of public utility with which, I believe, the history of India is illustrated.

I will conclude, my Lord, the long letter when I have solicited your forgiveness personally for the strength of my language and the warmth of my feeling personally on this subject for which my only apology is the sincere conviction that of all secular benefits that can be conferred on the region committed to my spiritual superintendence, no one bears so directly on the moral and religious welfare of the crowded inhabitants, as that which facilitates the progress of all improvements and the rise of all projects of an elevated and beneficent character, however wide in extent, diversified in object, or permanent and magnificent in effects.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient and humble servant,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

PARELL, 6th January, 1834.

TO THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have this moment received your letter of the 21st instant with its enclosure which shall be duly sent to the several members of our committee, that, as I informed your Lordship in my last letter, done with steam. All, therefore, that I can say is, I sincerely hope I may be mistaken in the opinion I entertain of the total failure of the Galle and Socotra plan. All India is interested in its success, and Bombay to the full as much as Calcutta. I never bet, but allow me for once (very wrong I admit) to ask your Lordship to allow me to bet you a quarter of a rupee (Bombay)—such a pretty new coin just struck at our Mint (I send a specimen) that if your steamer ever reaches Socotra from Suez next September, a sailing vessel will bring news to Calcutta from that island quicker *via* Bombay than you will receive it direct by your steamer? If your Lordship says done, you must not tell the Governor-General and Lady William; they will be so shocked.

We are now enjoying delightful weather, and I should like much before I leave India to enjoy the society of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. This, I fear, is out of question, as fifteen months hence I hope to have left the shores of the East forever.

Lord Dover's last work is exceedingly entertaining. I fear the world is as bad now as it was in the days of the second George.

Your Lordship's, etc.,
CLARE.

How is Lady William? I do not like the accounts I hear at all.

The next allusion on the part of the Bishop to steam communication occurs in a letter addressed to Sir Wilmot Horton, at that time Governor of Ceylon. The letter is dated "February 8th, 1834."

The new Charter sets all afloat on a new tide of hope. I think it does Mr. Grant infinite credit. My expectations, I confess, are sanguine of ultimate good to India, if the

new bishops and the clergy and missionaries can but impregnate the mass of rising intelligence with Christian principles.

Then the steam-communication (which has been nearly ruined by the Bombay gentlemen, but which we will not allow to drop) will come in to crown the whole, by giving means of rapid intercourse. Conceive only, dear Sir, of 23 letters received from my children, the average time has been 154 days, the shortest to time has been 114 days, and the longest 203.

My health continues quite good—not a day's sickness for 16 months, but so deteriorated are my mind and body, and so decayed my strength, that I am the shadow only of a man. India exhausts and then destroys.

Our noble Governor-General is gone to Madras. He is an admirable pattern of independence, diligence, vigour, love of justice, firmness, impartiality, habits of business, promptitude, and if he were but more of a Churchman and less of a Whig, he would be nearly perfect, but *nihil est ab omni parte beatum*. India will never see his like, in my opinion.

Yours most faithful, etc.,

DANIEL WILSON.

P.S.—I know nothing of the new Bishops, except that the admirable and amiable Archdeacon Corrie will be one.

TO THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

PARELL, *February 10th, 1834.*

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—All that I can say to your Lordship in reply to your kind communication about steam is that I heartily wish you success in your Galle and Socotra plan; but, not approving of it and conceiving that a prior engagement was made by the Governor-General with the Bombay Committee which has been, to say the least of it, most unaccountably abandoned by his Lordship, I have but one course left, and that is to make my bow and retire. I cannot change my opinion, because the Bombay Committee on 10th of last October wrote a foolish letter, nor can I understand why the said missive caused such bad humour at Calcutta, which has led in my opinion to the most disastrous consequences. For at present the supreme Government and the Calcutta Committee, the Bombay Government and the Bombay Committee are urging separate courses on the attention of the Home authorities, instead of being united in promoting the undertaking by a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether. The Governor-General, in his anger against our Committee, quite forgot that the Bombay Government has for years been labouring to establish a steam communication between this port and Suez. I cannot, therefore, but think that, according to the usual courtesy observed between public men, we, I mean this Government, ought not to have been suddenly thrown over by the Governor-General to please Messrs. McNaghten and Greenlaw, the more particularly because the Court has on all occasion desired us to communicate with Bengal on the subject, because we have always so communicated, and because most certainly, both in public and in private, I have tried on this and all occasions to meet the wishes of the Governor-General. Believing therefore as I do, that the general interests of India have on this occasion been sacrificed to the local interests of Calcutta, and knowing that the Upper Provinces, Bombay, Central India, and I believe Madras espouse our cause, I cannot but think that an undue weight has been given by the Governor-General to the proceedings at Calcutta, and that the hundred gentlemen who attended the late meeting did not express the general opinion of India on the subject. I have been obliged to make this

explanation because you state the change in my conduct is unaccountable. Pardon me ; I have never changed. The Governor-General has, why he knows best. I remain fixed and immoveable, but with precisely the same opinions on which I acted when we all started together. I assure you when I differ in opinion from you and the Governor-General, I do so with great diffidence in my own judgment and with deep regret ; but as I never changed, all I can say is, as a public man, I must have better reason for changing my opinion of the superiority of Bombay over Calcutta as the starting point for the steamer than any which I have yet seen in print. If I can supply you with any information, pray employ me, and, you may depend upon it, I shall obey the Governor-General's orders to the letter and [the] spirit of my instructions. Pray continue to me your Lordship's friendship and correspondence.

I have asked to be relieved, and if I can manage it, hope to avail myself of Sir John Gore's kind offer and go home next year in the *Melville*. After next April, I can do no good at Bombay.

I rejoice to hear Lady William is well again. Pray do not keep her and Lord William too long in India.

Believe me, etc.,
CLARE.

THE PALACE, CALCUTTA,
17th January 1834.

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE EARL OF CLARE.

MY DEAR LORD,—We are all grieved and afflicted at your letters. We know your honourable mind. We are confident of your excellent judgment and your public spirit. I am personally most indebted to your Lordship's condescension and friendship to one who is a mere stranger. On the great steam question, I went hand in hand with you at first, and I feel now just the same unbiassed, frank, earnest desire to second all your wishes.

But what can I say? From a certain date, all your notes have assumed a new direction and tenor, which are to me inexplicable.

May I yet hope that my public letter of December the 21st, and my public speech of January 7th, and the resolutions of the public meeting, particularly that inserted by Sir J. P. Grant, will yet convince your generous, candid mind of my own sincerity, and of Lord William's straightforward and necessary line of conduct.

If, however, all these documents fail to convince you, allow me to entreat of you to consider, for the cause's sake, that :

(1) The new Calcutta plan was forced upon the Governor-General by the refusal of the Bombay Committee of October 10th— at least in our apprehension—our minds being all unbiassed, and not only unbiassed but disposed to read with candour and friendliness all that that respectable body should address to us.

(2) The refusal consisted in the whole letter (a) declining the magnanimous offer of the Governor-General, (b) declining a frank suspension for the time of the Joint Stock plan and (c) going off upon the details of the *Hugh Lindsay*, the tardy trips of which vessel were minutely arranged to (d) disappoint all hopes of co-operation on our part.

(3) The Governor-General and the Calcutta Committee, being thus thrown over-board, gained another shore, and constructed, like ship-wrecked mariners, the best raft they could for escaping the sea. This raft has turned out better than the original vessel. We are now aboard the new vessel and afloat for ourselves.

Upon this, your Committee begins to cry out: upbraid, charge with ill temper and selfishness, etc., etc. In other words, our new plan is the Governor-General's assurance after the refusal sent him of the original one by your own body.

(4) Our new plan has been proposed, digested, laid before the subscribers, accepted.

Nothing can change our Governor-General's mind on this head, nor ought it, in my humble opinion. It would be worse than weakness to place ourselves a second time in the power of a number of gentlemen who have rejected us once and may oscillate again, if we should betray childish indecision now.

(5) It remains, as to this year of experiment and demonstration that our feelings should be harmonised, our bickerings extinguished, and that we should all co-operate, so far as we can, upon the new project.

It is not for me to suggest anything to your Lordship, but I would venture to say that if the Bombay Committee were to solicit the Bombay Council to run the *Hugh Lindsay* in May, August and November, to meet us at Socotra, all would be harmonised at once.

Or, if the Bombay Committee would write at once to your Lordship, and beg their subscriptions might be placed in the hands of the Governor-General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, for executing a joint expedition this year, possibly that might be better still.

I have no authority for saying this. I have not even mentioned it to a single soul, but generous frankness, when a misapprehension has arisen, is the truest policy.

(6) Whatever comes of this year of demonstration, the permanent plan with the two lacs for five years, was always designed to comprehend in an adequate and harmonious system the wants of the three presidencies, nor is it at all improbable that the authorities at home may recur to the first and simpler essay of Bombay, defective as that would be, to passengers, parcels, and freight for Calcutta, and for all our part of the Peninsular, China, etc.

(7) Lastly, allow me to assure your Lordship that our minds—I mean the Governor-General's, Mr. Greenlaw's, Mr. McNaghten's, my own are as free at this instant from excitement and prejudice and as open to the fair claims of Bombay as even you could desire. And very soon all this will appear clear as the noon-day sun. In the meantime, I have written to England, and put the Government in full possession of all the Governor-General's wishes all along, and have sent a copy of my public letter to your Lordship of 21st December.

With England will rest the decision how the five years' permanent plan shall be tried and there I cheerfully leave the cause.

Grant me only your continued friendship, and I am content to suffer in your opinion of my understanding, and to subscribe myself

Ever your most affectionate,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY, April 15th, 1834.

THE RIGHT REVD. THE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,—I have only time to tell you the *Hugh Lindsay* arrived this morning with important despatches for us all. I have sent them to Ootacamund and Madras, and I enclose you a private letter from Captain Upton. I have but little private news in my letters of the 29th of January. The Court sent us out these despatches overland

by a Lieutenant Lake in despair at all vessels having been detained for nearly three months in the channel by contrary winds. Our new Governor-General sailed on the 15th of February. I have *Galigani* to the 18th February, which are gone to the newspapers. You will soon see the King's speech which says but little. Portugal and Belgium still unsettled. I grieve to say I have lost my dear friend Lord Grenville. The Duke of Wellington is Chancellor of the University of Oxford

In haste,
Your Lordship's etc.,
CLARE.

The following is an extract from the last of the series of Bishop Wilson's letters to Lord Clare which we have been able to find :

Please to forward my respects to our excellent Archdeacon. I wish he were to be raised also to the mitre ; but our masters will do as they please. Our *Forbes* sailed April 10th and will be back, as we hope, by the end of June. The steam plan must succeed, whether your Lordship's or the Governor-General's in the first instance is of little consequence. Three month's detention in the English Channel is too bad.

With best compliments,
I remain,
Your most obedient,
DANIEL, CALCUTTA.

In regard to the Captain Johnson so frequently mentioned in this correspondence, it may be worth while to print here the inscription on the monument erected to his memory at St. Stephen's Church, Kidderpore.

[CREST]

[Motto : Light thieves all.]

IN MEMORY OF

JAMES HENRY JOHNSON,

Commander, R. N.,

CONTROLLER OF THE STEAM DEPARTMENT, H. E. I. C. S.,

Who died at Sea, near to the Cape of Good Hope, on the 5th of May 1851,

AGED 63.

After twelve years of varied service in the Royal Navy,

His career of usefulness in India commenced in 1817 :

HE CONDUCTED TO CALCUTTA

THE FIRST STEAM-SHIP, THE "ENTERPRISE," IN 1825 :

*And the River-Steamers, Steam-Foundry, Dock Yard, and School of
Engineers.*

All originated and organised by himself,
Are lasting monuments of his attractive talents,
Fertile resource, public zeal, and unwearied personal energy
His end was Perfect Peace.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit,
for they rest from their labours." R.F.V. C. xiv. V. 13.

This inscription betrays, we venture to think, the touch of Bishop Wilson's pen. It is a misfortune that the tablet does not record Johnson's service at Trafalgar.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.



Boyle of Arrah.

A DEAD MUTINY HERO AND HIS EXPLOIT.

(FROM THE *Daily Telegraph*.)



URING the early days of January, the death was announced in London, in his eighty-seventh year, of Mr. Richard Vicars Boyle, C.S.I., the hero of the defence of the "Little House at Arrah" in the Mutiny days. No more gallant exploit marked that fateful year, and the fame of the brave handful of Englishmen and Sikhs, who withstood the onslaught of three regiments of Sepoy infantry, is enshrined for all time in the vivid pages of Sir George Trevelyan's "Competition-Wallah." But the story is worth recalling to-day, if there is to be any meaning in the adjuration to "praise famous men" which falls so familiarly on the ear at every University and College commemoration.

The outbreak of the Mutiny in the summer months of 1857 found Boyle who was an engineer by profession, in local charge at Arrah in Northern Bengal of the construction work of the East Indian Railway, which was then in running order only as far as Raneegunge, the present centre of the Bengal coal-field. There was every reason to expect the upheaval which took place at Arrah, for the district contained a large Rajpoot population, from which the army was mainly recruited, and especially the 40th Native Infantry, then quartered close by at Dinapore. Moreover, the leading landowner, Kooer Singh, was a man utterly ruined by mismanagement and extravagance and with no hope of recovery except by the advent of a "new order" and the annihilation of his creditors. When therefore the three sepoy regiments of the Dinapore garrison mutinied, he easily persuaded them to delay their march to Delhi and join their relatives and friends in attempting the destruction of the little body of Englishmen in Arrah.

But the little body of Englishmen in Arrah were not so easily overcome. They had prudently despatched the ladies and children to Dinapore when the rumours of disaffection had first reached their ears; and on news being received of the movements of the mutineers, they shut themselves up in a small whitewashed building in the "compound" or enclosure of what is now the Judge's House but was then Boyle's own bungalow. This building, which was used as a billiard-room and may be seen to this day, stands at a distance of some fifty yards from the main house. Its basement consists of cellars with open arches some four or five feet in height. A staircase in the interior leads to a single room surrounded on three sides by a verandah. The flat housetop is reached by a ladder and is protected

by a parapet, but it is entirely commanded by the roof of the neighbouring building, from which the porch stands out like a bastion.

Rude entrenchments were run up by Boyle. The cellars were bricked up and a store of provisions laid in : and into this frail ark the gallant little band retreated "before the flood of anarchy and sedition should engulf everything around." The story of the siege was left on record by Herwald Wake, the Magistrate of the district, who by virtue of his office took command of the garrison. It was in Wake's own words, "written with the stump of a pencil on the wall above the fireplace of our solitary living-room, at any moment that could be spared, in case we should be scragged." As for the garrison, it was composed, firstly of 50 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's Police battalion, and their water-carrier and cook and, secondly, of fifteen Europeans and Eurasians, officials of all grades and railway servants, and one Mahomedan, Syud Azimoodin Hoosein, the Deputy Collector of Revenue. They went into their "fortified bungalow" on the night of Sunday, 26th July, and were attacked in force on the following morning. The assault was incessantly renewed, and cannon-fire directed against them from cover of the main house. But they held out until Sunday, August 2nd, when Vincent Eyre "defeated the rebels, and on the 3rd we came out."

Wake's reward for his gallantry was a C.B. and Vicars Boyle, the "Vanban of the siege," received a C.S.I. on the institution of that order in 1861. But memories in Anglo-India are short. When Sir George Trevelyan visited the scene of their exploits in 1863, he was compelled to record the disappearance of almost every vestige of the heroic struggle. "Already," he writes, "the wall on which Wake wrote his diary of the siege has been whitewashed and the enclosure, where the dead horses lay through those August days, has been destroyed : and a party-wall has been built over the mouth of the well in the cellars ; and the garden fence which served the mutineers as a first parallel has been moved further back." Nor was there, until Lord Curzon repaired the neglect a year or two ago, even a tablet on the outer wall to testify to the pride and admiration of a later generation.

Still this Thermopylæ of the English race should need no such outward signs to keep its place in our memory. "As long as Englishmen love to hear of fidelity and constancy and courage bearing up against frightful odds, there is no fear lest they forget the name of the 'little house at Arrah.'" Honours, as the world esteems them, did not fall to the lot of Wake and Boyle and their gallant comrades. But they have earned their niche in the Temple of Fame. They afforded to the world a glorious proof that the good old blood of England was not yet worn out : and therein they had their reward.

H. E. A. COTTON.

Old St. James's :

THE CHURCH THAT FELL.

Where many an enthusiast
Has worshipped—but that day is past !...
No vesper hymn, no morning prayer,
Shall be put up, or answered, there.

—DEROZIO.

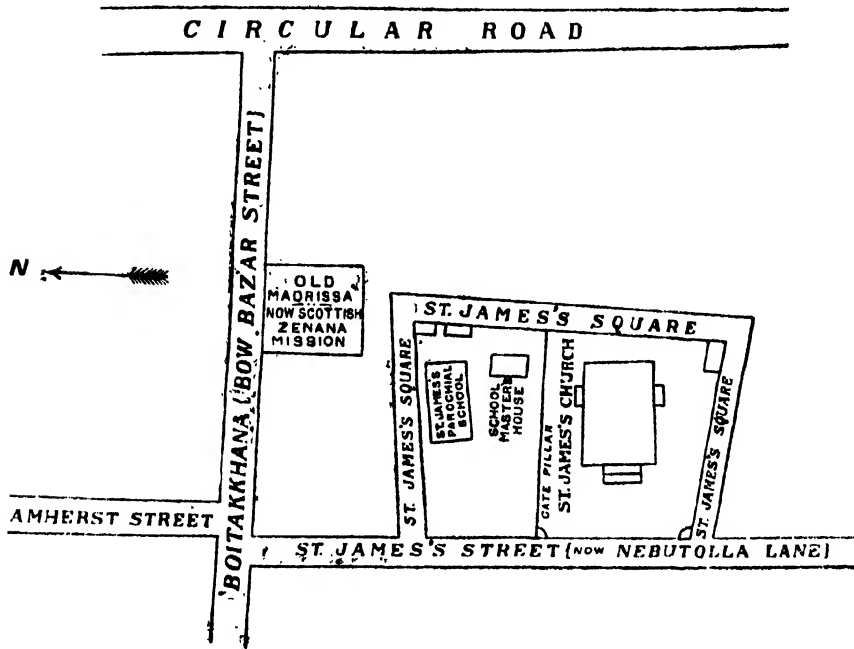


At the present day there are but few persons in Calcutta who can recall the Old Church of St. James which fell fifty years ago. It was situated towards the eastern end of the town, north of Creek Row, between Dharamtala and Bow Bazar. To be more precise—as one proceeds down the latter street towards Sealdah, he will, on reaching Amherst Street (on the left hand) find opposite, on the right, running southwards, a wide lane named *Nebutolla* ("the place of limes"). A few paces down it, to the left, is a road, St. James's Square, and a little further on, the corresponding side of the quadrangle. Enclosed by these sides is a range of roadside shops known as "Nerra-Girja Bazar" (Nos. 26 and 27 Nebutolla Lane). Among these shops, to the south of one occupied by a *modi* (grain-dealer), stands a tottering gate-pillar with the crumbling fragment of a wall behind it. This is all that remains to-day of old St. James's Church. It is not too late to restore the battered pillar and to mark it with a tablet, and this the Calcutta Historical Society might perhaps ask the Local Government to do.

While the last century was still young the Roman Catholics, on the one hand, and the Baptists, on the other, had erected churches and chapels in Bow Bazar and Circular Road, and the need of an Anglican place of worship also began to be felt in some other portion of the town apart from St. John's (Old Cathedral) and the Old Mission Church. For this purpose the first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. T. F. Middleton, asked for public offerings, and immediately a Eurasian family responded with the gift of a site.* This was

* There is a reference to this fact in the *Englishman* of May 14, 1906, but the name of the family is not mentioned. The donor (I learn from a descendant of his, Mr. E. R. Siret of the Bengal Secretariat) was Mr. Robert Lazarus D'Oliveira. He was originally a Roman Catholic and his mother, Mrs. Joanna D'Oliveira, is buried in the Murgihatta Cathedral (1765). After St. James's Church fell Mr. H. A. Elliott, a grandson of the donor, bought back part of the land, while another portion was purchased by a native for a bazar.

a rectangular parcel of land consisting of about five biggahs. It was situated in Baitakhana to the south of the building then known as the Madrassa (founded by Warren Hastings), but which has for many years past been used for the Zenana Mission of the established Church of Scotland. The foundation-stone was laid by Bishop Middleton on Tuesday, November 14, 1820, as is stated in the *Calcutta Government Gazette* of two days later.



Rough Plan shewing the position of old St. JAMES'S CHURCH.
(Adapted from Major J. A. Schalch's Map of Calcutta, 1824-25.)

The name of the builder is lost in oblivion, but it is just possible the architects were Captain P. Phipps, Superintendent of Civil and Military Buildings, Lower Provinces, and Lieutenant J. F. Paton of the Corps of Engineers, on account of the prominent part assigned to these officers on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone. Just three years after that ceremony was performed the Church was consecrated by Bishop Heber (Tuesday, November 11, 1823). At the consecration-service the Rev. John Hawtayne, the first Minister of the Church, preached an appropriate sermon from the text:—"And he was afraid, and said: How dreadful is this place. This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of Heaven" (*Genesis* xxi. 17).^{*} On

^{*} *John Bull*, Nov. 12, 1823. Hence W. H. Carey is apparently incorrect when he states in his *Good Old Days of the Hon. John Company* that the Church was opened for service on the 9th February, and that Mr. Hawtayne preached from *Matthew* x. 40.

the following Sunday evening the Bishop himself preached. Within the compound was a house for a boys' and a girls' parochial school. The school-master, Mr. W. R. Rollo, who was also the Vestry Clerk, used to reside on the premises.

The Church is said, on the whole, to have presented rather a dreary aspect. A highly respected lady, who is still living, sends the following interesting description :—

"I was married (in Old St. James's) in September, 1857, and it fell in 1858. The steeple was left unfinished owing to its being found that the ground was sinking ; it was left in turret form as St. Thomas's (Free School) Church now is ; natives called it ' Nara Girjah ' on this account. The Church was built on the site of a tank ; this is supposed to have occasioned its collapse. The plan was much like the Free School Church of old time before the chancel was added. The east wall had a coloured glass window of Gothic shape, but no pictured representation. The pulpit was on the right side of the aisle and the reading-desk on the left. I have no recollection of the font. The communion-table had on each side of the wall, right and left, tablets with the Creed and Commandments. The girls and boys of the School had seats in front (*i.e.*, to the sides) ; then there were short pews running near the north and south walls like the Old Mission Church has on its north side. There were two side-doors. The Vestry was on the north side and the minister walked up the aisle. There was a porch (vestibule) at the west entrance and a portico and two gates for the carriages to drive in and out. The plan of the Free School Church is somewhat similar to Old St. James's."

To the above may be added the following from another esteemed correspondent who was baptised in the Church :—

"It had no gallery, only an organ-loft. I used to sing in the choir when Mr. Madge was Organist. A bell used to toll for service. . . . The curious thing is that, although the portion of the church to the east first came down, none of the *débris* fell on the altar or communion-table."

The building had been declared to be unsafe, both owing to the fact that it was erected on the site of a " choked tank " (known a century ago as the Puddopuker) and the beams had been attacked by white ants. It had already been decided to remove the fittings with a view to repairing the building, when one morning, in August, 1858, with a tremendous crash the roof fell in !* It was not thought advisable to rebuild the church. Indeed it had always been considered a little out of the way, and its southern approach (*via* Creek Row) led through a network of narrow lanes. So a new and more convenient site on

* The exact date does not appear in the Church records, but it is said to have fallen on Sunday, August 22nd, about 10-20 A.M., while the congregation were assembling for service in the school-room in the church compound.

Lower Circular Road was acquired for the new church of St. James (*Jora Girjah*). Of the latter the foundation-stone was laid by the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon) on the 7th June, 1862, and on St. James's day (25th July) 1864 it was consecrated by Bishop Cotton. Until the new church was opened service used to be held (among other places) in the school-room in the compound of the former church and in St. Paul's School,* until 1860 when the Rev. Dr. P. J. Jarbo, who had that year been appointed Chaplain of St. James's district, obtained the use of St. Saviour's Hindustani Church at the south-east corner of Wellesley Square. A black marble tablet to the memory of the Rev. W. H. Ross, Junior Chaplain, which used to be in old St. James's, was placed in the northern transept of the newer building.

On glancing through the registers of baptisms and marriages, one may note the christenings of two daughters of C. E. Trevelyan, C.S., and Hannah More, his wife. It will be remembered that Sir Charles Trevelyan, who afterwards became Governor of Madras and was created a Baronet, married the sister of Lord Macaulay. Of the Trevelyan children christened here the elder, named Margaret Jane, became the wife of the first Viscount Knutsford, while the younger, Harriet Selina, died in infancy (1837) and is buried in the North Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta.† In 1838 a Mr. Alexander Grant Aldwell was married here to Miss Sophia Skinner, who was a daughter of Major Robert Skinner and a niece of the famous Colonel James Skinner, C.B., of Skinner's Horse. Here in 1851 the Rev. E. C. Stuart, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand, was united to Miss DeCourcy. Here, also, Sidney Laman Blanchard, the distinguished journalist, who had been Private Secretary to Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield)‡, led to the altar Miss Carmichael, an Irish lady, on March 15, 1855, the ceremony being repeated at the R. C. Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Dharamtala. The pages bristle with the names of old Calcutta families of whom some (though not all) are now quite forgotten—the Baillies, Bedells, Blaquieres, Byrnes, Chisholms, Derozios, Heritages, Hoffs, Kellners, Kerrs, Keymers, Kiernanders, Kirkpatrick, Macleods, Madges, Martindells, Pritchards, Starks, Sutherlands, Templetons and Woods. To these and to many another Anglo-Indian house, "Old St. James's" should be hallowed by the tenderest and most sacred associations, although (in the words of the poet)—

The fane is fallen, the rite is o'er,
The choral anthem peals no more !

* Before its removal to Darjeeling St. Paul's School was located in Chowringhee about where the Indian Museum and the new U.S. Club now stand. The sale proceeds of the Old St. James's School (as appears from a list of "endowments") amounted to Rs. 16,500.

† The inscription is one of those omitted in the *Bengal Obituary*.

‡ See "Pillars of Indian Journalism" in the *Journal*, March 8, 1908.

The following letter, appearing in an old Calcutta newspaper, will doubtless prove interesting :—

THE RUINS OF ST. JAMES'S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "BENGAL HARKARU."

SIR,

Having occasion this morning to visit the neighbourhood of St. James's, I observed an elderly gentleman, a celebrity in his way, gazing at the ruins of the church. As he appeared absorbed in contemplation, I crept up to him and heard him ejaculate the following lines, which I enclose for insertion in your journal.

Yours truly,

C. G.*

23rd August, 1858.

Oh ! what a thrilling scene doth greet mine eye,
Which long hath gazed on what alone is fair,
A noble pile of sacred masonry,
Reared by a Bishop with observant care
In honor of St. James. The sun ne'er shone
On edifice more classic, or more bright ;
But in a night, plinth, jetting, frieze, are gone,
And nothing now but *débris* meets the sight !
Mnemosyné ! now play thy welcome part,
Brighten the lenses of fond memory,
And may thy vision melt this lonely heart
Which ne'er was moved by woman's tear or sigh !
Where is the pulpit, whilom BOSWELL† trod,
The meekly priest, the poor man's steady friend,
Who lisping children taught to praise their God,
And Sabbath-schools and meetings to attend ;

*It is not known who the writer of this letter was. The initials are those of Mr. Colesworthy Grant, a well-known artist at the time, as also of Mr. Charles Gardener, a prominent member of the congregation. The lines, however, are unlikely to have been composed by either of these gentlemen. The editor (Mr. J. Newmarch) considered the "verses worthy of Charles Churchill's mordant muse." Strange to say, the day after the date of this letter a severe earthquake was felt in Calcutta !

† The Rev. Robert Bruce Boswell, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed a Chaplain on the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Establishment in 1832, and until his retirement in 1856 was attached to old St. James's as "Minister." He died in London four years later. A mural tablet to his memory was subsequently placed in the new church on the grounds of which the Boswell Memorial Hall was erected. Mr. Boswell was of good family, being described in the Baronetage as "the heir male of Boswell of Auchinleck" ; so he was closely related to Johnson's biographer. He married the daughter of Sir Archibald Dunbar, Bart. ; she died shortly after her arrival in India and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta.

And the small desk where noseless ROLLO* stood,
 The Vestry Clerk, that pedagogue uncouth,
 Who always seemed in reverential mood,
 And "Amen" said with nasal twang in sooth !
 The organ, too, no more shall raise its swell,
 Nor MADGE† with tripping fingers touch its keys,
 No more shall he with music's magic spell
 Warm the cold heart, the listening ear appease
 The chairs, the floors, the footstools, all I ween ;
 The velvet hassocks for your men of state,
 Lie buried, smash'd, as if they ne'er had been,
 Beneath a load immeasurably great !
 Fond but sad relics, dear to me for years,
 Give me my "wipe" to stop this flood of tears !

St. James's is not the only Church in Calcutta that has disappeared. St. Anne's (consecrated in 1709) at the south-western corner of Writers' Buildings, was destroyed in the siege of 1756. Then there were the Old Roman Catholic Church (1720); the Anglican Chapel of St. John (1760); and St. John's R. C. Chapel in Upper Circular Road (1808) which has after a century been rebuilt. At Howrah, across the river, the former Baptist Chapel (1821), known as the "Ebenezer" Chapel, and situated near Cullen Place, was removed in 1865 owing to the East Indian Railway Company having acquired the site.

To these places of Christian worship may be perhaps added the great Muhammadan Mosque which (according to Long) gave its name to *Dharam-tala* or "Holy Street." As, however, Mr. Firminger reminds us in his *Guide*, Dr. Höernle has pointed out that the followers of Dharma (one of the

* Mr. William R. Rollo was (as has been stated) not only Vestry Clerk but schoolmaster of St. James's Parochial School and resided in a small house on the premises. It is right to add in connection with the above description that a correspondent in the *Bengal Harkaru* took exception to attention being drawn to Mr. Rollo's one physical imperfection instead of his many moral perfections !

† Mr. Thomas A. Madge (of the Madge's Lane family) was organist of Old St. James's for over thirty years, including the period he continued as such of the new Church. Taking over the instrument from Miss Conyers in the middle 'thirties, he relinquished it in the later 'sixties to Mrs. Avery. In connection with the opening ceremony of new St. James's he is thus referred to in the editorial columns of the *Bengal Harkaru* of 27th July 1864 :—"The *Cantate Domino* and *Deus Misereatur* were delivered by the choir with that finish which we have a right to expect when Mr. Madge presides at the instrument." His eldest daughter, who sometimes played the organ for her father and began to do so at twelve years of age, was the musical prodigy who afterwards composed the March of the Calcutta Volunteer Guards. He was, besides, Superintendent of the Office of Examiner of Commissariat and Stud Accounts.



A RELIC OF THE VANISHED
ST. JAMES' CHURCH.
(*Photo by S. A. Ferris, Esq.*)

Buddhist Trinity) still have a temple in Jaun Bazar and must have named the neighbouring street after the object of their devotion.

In preparing this note my best thanks are due to the Revs. W. J. Wickins and J. F. Smith, past and present Chaplains of St. James's, for their courtesy in permitting me to glance at the Parish records ; to my life-long friend, Mr. Herbert A. Stark, for much valuable information ; and to Mr. Silas A. Perris, a member of our Society, who was kind enough to go down to Nebutolla on more than one occasion to photograph the old gate-pillar which illustrates this article. The Honorary Secretary of the Society, has also, at my suggestion, taken snap-shots of the pillar and the site.

E. W. M.



A Note on the Rev. Paul Limrick and the Limrick Family.



On 28th October, 1788, Rev. Paul Limrick officially reported his arrival in Calcutta. His approbation by the Archbishop is dated 18th February, 1788. Captain Agnew was paid £100 for the passage of this gentleman to India who declared himself pleased with his treatment during the voyage.

Mr. Limrick was a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, 1773. He graduated B.A. in 1775 and M.A. in 1782, in which year he married a Miss Margaret Law, who accompanied him to India. She died in 1841.

According to the "Parochial Annals of Bengal" (by H. B. Hyde, 1901) Mr. Limrick officiated at Chunar in 1789, at Fategarh in 1790, at Dinapore in 1791 and in 1794 he became Garrison Chaplain at Fort William. In 1897 he was appointed Junior Presidency Chaplain under the Rev. David Brown, but continued to act as Garrison Chaplain.

Mr. Limrick lived at No. 34, Chowringhee Road and died in 1810, after having been invalided for about a year. A musical service book printed for St. John's use from engraved copper plates *circa* 1810, contains chants written by Mr. Limrick and his wife. A half length portrait of him in oils is preserved in St. John's. He left a widow and several children. Dr. Ward succeeded him in the Junior Chaplaincy.

The Rev. Paul Limrick was coming home from India in 1809 when the ship in which he sailed went down with all on board. He was known to have very considerable property in India, but he was supposed to have had all his papers with him when he was lost. His heirs discovered a property in Calcutta, worth about £900 a year, which was divided about 1845. Some twenty-five years later, Limrick's grandson, Lyttelton H. Lyster, had a communication from a Frenchman in Calcutta, stating that he knew of the existence of considerable unclaimed property which had belonged to Dr. Limrick and offering to give the information necessary for its recovery if he got half of it. After protracted negotiations he agreed to accept one-third. His representatives in London then arranged to meet Mr. Lyster's lawyers, to draw up the necessary documents, etc. On the appointed day the Frenchman's representatives never came. Enquiries were made, and it was found that the firm of solicitors who had acted for him had left their place of business. Nothing more could be discovered and no more was heard from



THE REV. PAUL LIMERICK.

any of them. Quite recently there have been fresh rumours of unclaimed Limrick property or money in India, but so far the representatives of the family have been able to discover nothing of it.

There exists an old tradition that the Limricks were originally a French family named "de Lambrouk" or "de l'Ambroux" (perhaps de l'Ambroix), which came to Ireland and settled there. The surname is so uncommon and peculiar—it evidently has no connection with the town of Limerick—as to lend weight to the supposition that it is an anglicised form of a foreign name. It is, of course, well known that about the end of the sixteenth century many settlers began to come to the North of Ireland (where the name of Limrick first appears) from Scotland, between which and France there had, a generation or so earlier, been much intercourse.

In a succession list of the clergy in Louth parishes appears the name of one "John Limyricke," Rector of Baronstown in 1540. He is referred to in a Repertory of Decrees as "Sir John Limrick," living near Dundalk in 1557, and as "Sir John Limricke, parson of Derver," in the same county, in 1564. He became Vicar of Dundalk in 1577. About 1661-69 a Donald Limrick was living in the parish of Drumchose, Limavady, not far from Derry, and at the same period a Patrick Lymericke in the parish of "Killawan" (? Killowen, near Coleraine), Co. Londonderry. Thomas Limbrick of Dungiven, Co. Londonderry, died in or about 1704, leaving Bridget, his wife, surviving him. Several children of George Limbrick, or Lamrick, and Mary, his wife, were baptised in Londonderry Cathedral 1725-1732.

Having regard to the rarity* of the name, it is fairly certain that these Limricks were ancestors or relatives of a Paul Limrick, who, about the time of Charles II., was also an inhabitant of the northern part of Ireland and whose descendants are here traced.

Paul Limrick, born probably about the year of the Restoration (1660), and, apparently, living in or near the City of Derry about the time of its famous siege, married and had issue (with a son, who was father of another Paul Limrick, who was probably the "Paul Limrick of Londonderry, gent., who married, in Cork, in 1755, Mary Limrick, and died in 1764, leaving his wife, Mary, and three children—Paul, Thomas and Mary, surviving) a son. Rev. Paul Limrick, born in Derry; entered Trinity College, Dublin, 16th June 1708, Scholar 1711, B.A. 1713, M.A. 1717, afterwards D.D., Vicar of Killaconenagh, etc., Diocese of Ross, 1718. Vicar 1720-23 and Rector 1723-55 of Kilmore and Schull, Co. Cork. Built the glebehouse at Schull at a cost of £600. Died March, 1755, and was buried in St. Mary's

* Some fifty years ago there were some Limbricks living at Thornbury in Gloucestershire. Apart from the Limricks or Limbricks mentioned in this paper and persons deriving from them, this is the only other occurrence of the name which the writer has been able to discover.

Shandon, Cork, on 30th March, 1755. Will dated 25th March, and proved 25th May, 1755. Mentions in it two sons—William (who had an eldest son, Paul) and Robert—and four daughters—Bridget (wife of Benjamin Sullivan), Mary (probably wife of Paul Limrick of Derry), Anne, and Mrs. White (Martha Limrick, who married in 1744 William White and had a son, William); nephew Paul Limrick, sister Searson. He appears to have acquired the estate at Schull, or Skull—as the old spelling was—afterwards held by his descendants. It included Mount Gabriel, a very picturesque mountain, visible for miles from every part of the surrounding country and which was the last place in Ireland where wolves were found. He left, with other issue, a son and a daughter.

William Limrick, of Union Hall, Co. Cork, eldest son ; married Margaret Somerville. Of whom later.

Bridget Limrick, eldest daughter, died 8th July, 1802, having married, 3rd January, 1742, Benjamin Sullivan, Esq., of Dromeragh, Co. Cork, who claimed to be "The O'Sullivan More," and by him left issue four sons and five daughters.

I. Sir Benjamin Sullivan, born 1747, Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Madras ; married Eliza, daughter of Admiral Sir Digby Dent, K.B., and died 1810, having had, with other issue, two sons and two daughters.

I. George James Sullivan, Captain Royal Horse Guards, blue ; High Sheriff, Beds., 1844 ; born 1791, died 1860, having married, 1816 Mary, daughter and co-heir of Rev. Stiverd Jenkins of Leaking, Somerset, who died 1866, having had (with other issue) two sons and two daughters.

(1) George Augustus Filmer Sullivan, Lieutenant-Colonel, Scots Guards, and 5th R. I. Lancers ; born 1818 ; married 1st in 1842, Emily, only daughter of Richard Prime, Esq., of Walber House, Sussex, M.P., who died 1872, having had four sons and three daughters : 1. George Digby Filmer, Captain, 15th (King's) Hussars, Arthur, Adrian, Walter Sandys, 1 Emily Rosa, married 1878 Gordon F. Deedes, Esq. 2. Blanche, married 1872 Charles James Radclyffe, Esq., jun., of Hyde, Dorset (and has, with three daughters two sons—Robert C. E. Radclyffe, late 1st Life Guards and 1st Royal Dragoons, Capt. 3 Bt. (Mil.) Dorset Regt., J.P., married and has issue—Raymond A. G. Radclyffe). Colonel G. A. F. Sullivan, m. 2nd in 1874, Eleanor, daughter of John C. Fletcher, Esq., of Dale Park, Sussex, and has a son, b. 1880.

- (2) Rev. John Filmer Sullivan, M.A., Camb., b. 1834; m. 1859 Adelaide, d. Abel Smith, Esq., M.P., of Wood Hall, Herts (nephew of Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington), and has issue.
- (1) Mary E. Sullivan, m. 1840 Thomas Beale Browne, Esq., of Salperton Park, Glouc., and Cappaghwhite, Co. Tipperary, and has issue.
- (2) Albinia Sullivan, m. 1850 Edward Robert Starkie-Bence, Esq., of Kentwell Hall, Suff., J.P., D.L., High Sheriff 1861, Capt. late 1st King's Dragoon Guards, and had issue.
2. Robert Sullivan, bar.-at-law I. T., b. 1797; m. 1819 Margaret, eld. dau. Sir Edward Filmer, 6th Bart. :
 1. Margaret Sullivan, m. Robert Ashworth, Capt. Life Guards.
 2. Harriet Sullivan, m. Lt.-Col. Francis de Vismes.
- II. The Right Hon. John Sullivan, of Richings Park, Bucks, born 1749; M.P. Old Sarum 1790—6; Aldborough, Yorks, 1802—6, and Ashburton, 1811—18; Under-Secretary of War 1801—5, in which latter year he was sworn of the Privy Council; m. 1789 Lady Henrietta Anne Barbara, dau. George, 3rd Earl of Buckinghamshire; and by her (who d. 1828) he left on his death in 1839, with five daughters an only son:

John Augustus Sullivan, of Richings Park, Provost-Marshal of Jamaica, Secretary and Registrar of Demerara, b. 1798, d. 1871, having had by Jane, his second wife, dau. Admiral Sir Charles Tyler, K.C.B., two sons and a dau. :

 1. Roper Augustus Sullivan, late Royal Bucks Militia, b. 1827, m. 1857 Mary, dau. Francis McDonnell, Esq., of Plas Newydd, Usk, Mon., and had issue a dau.
 2. Frederick Sullivan, Postmaster-General of Jamaica, b. 1835, m. 1862 Caroline, dau. William Kemble, Esq., and has issue.
 1. Emilia Sullivan, m. 1856 Lewis Knight-Bruce, Esq. (brother of 1st Baron Aberdare), and had issue.
- III. Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, 1st Bart., of Thames Ditton, Surrey; of whom presently.
- IV. Henry Boyle Sullivan, d. unm. 1783.
 1. Margaret Sullivan, m. General Gordon Forbes, Col. 29th Foot, and had issue.
 2. Elizabeth Sullivan, m. Patrick Lawson, Esq.
 3. Sabinia Sullivan, m. John Otto Bayer, and died 1784, leaving issue.
 4. Henrietta Sullivan, married first, Col. Alexander Maclellan, and secondly, John Balfour, Esq., of Trenaby, M.P.

5. Anne Sullivan, married, 1781, Lt.-Col. George Hallam, of White Barns, Herts.

Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan, the third son, was born 10th December, 1752. Was M.P. New Romney 1787—96; M.P. Seaford 1802. A Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Society. Author of various miscellaneous writings (see "Dictionary of National Biography.") Created a Baronet 22nd May, 1804. Married, 1778, Mary, only surviving daughter of Thomas Lodge, Esq., of Leeds, by whom (who died 1832) he left issue on his death, in 1806, six sons and two daughters:

- I. Sir Henry Sullivan, 2nd Bart., b. 1785. Lt.-Col. Coldstreams; fell in a sortie from the garrison of Bayonne, 14th April, 1814; d. unm.
- II. Sir Charles Sullivan, 3rd Bart., Admiral of the Blue, R.N.; b. 1789, d. 1862; m. 1818 Jean Anne, only dau. Robert Taylor, Esq., of Ember Court, Surrey, by whom he left issue (with a dau., who d. unm.) two sons and two daus.:
 1. Sir Charles Sullivan, 4th Bart., b. 1820, d. unm. 1865.
 2. Sir Edward Robert Sullivan, 5th Bart., J.P., D.L.; b. 1826, d. 1899; m. 1859 Mary, youngest dau. Henry Currie, of West Horsley Place, Surrey, and left an only dau.:
Maud Anne Sullivan, m. Arthur Remington Robert, Esq., of Seven Stoke, Worcestershire.
1. Mary M. Sullivan, m. 1869 Henry Currie, Esq., West Horsley Place, Surrey, and d.s.p. 1905.
2. Jean Sullivan, m. 1863 Rev. Henry Nele Loring (eldest son of Admiral Sir John Wentworth Loring, K.C.B., R.C.H.), and d. 1865.
- III. Edward Richard Sullivan, b. 1791, m. 1815 Eliza, dau. General Sir James Lillyman Caldwell, G.C.B., and d. 1824, having had, with two sons who d.s.p., a daughter:
Maria Charlotte Sullivan, m. Sir John Lees, 3rd Bart. (son of Sir Harcourt Lees and Sophia, his wife, dau. Col. Anthony Lyster, of Grange, Co. Roscommon), and had with other issue, an eldest son:
Sir Harcourt Lees, 4th and present Baronet.
- IV. Rev. Frederick Sullivan, b. 1797; m. Arabella, dau. Valentine H. Wilmot, Esq., of Farnborough, Herts, by Barbarina, his wife, afterwards Baroness Dacre, dau. Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle, Bart. She d. 1839, leaving, with other issue, two sons and a daughter:
 1. Sir Francis William Sullivan, 6th Bart., K.C.B., C.M.G., Admiral R.N., A.D.C. to the Queen 1877—78; b. 1834, d. 1906; m. 1861 Agnes, second dau. Hon. Sir Sydney Bell,

Chief Justice of the Cape of Good Hope, and left issue two sons and a daughter :

(1) Rev. Sir Frederick Sullivan, M.A., Oxon., Rector of Southrepps, Norfolk, 7th and present Baronet ; b. 1865, m. 1901 Hon. Judith Harbord, Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria, dau. Charles, 5th Lord Suffield, P.C., G.C.V.O.

(2) Richard Sullivan, Commander R.N. ; b. 1866, m. 1905 Beatrix Evelyn, eld. dau. Arthur Magniac, Esq., of the Hermitage, Ascot, and has issue.

(1) Gertrude Agnes, m. 1892 John Lionel Lyster, Esq. (grandson of Colonel Anthony Lyster, of Grange).

2. Henry Eden Sullivan, b. 1835, m. Louisa, dau. James Pierce, Esq., and d. 1903, leaving issue.

1. Barbarina C. Sullivan, m. 1846 Admiral the Hon. Sir Frederick William Grey, G.C.B. (third son of 2nd Earl Grey).

V. Arthur Sullivan, Major in the Army, b. 1801, d. unm. 1832.

VI. William Sullivan, Major-General, C.B., Col. 58th Regt., b. 1804.

I. Charlotte Sullivan, m. 1824 William Hale, Esq., of King's Warden, Herts.

II. Eliza Sullivan, m. 1814 Canon the Hon. Frederick Pleydell Bouverie (third son of 2nd Earl of Radnor), and d. 1846, leaving issue.

William Limrick, eldest son of Rev. Paul, was of Union Hall, Co. Cork ; m. in 1753 Elizabeth, third daughter of Rev. Thomas Somerville,* Rector of Myross, Braad and Castlehaven, Co. Cork (born in Galloway, Scotland, in 1687, being second son of Rev. William Somerville, great grandson of James, 6th Baron Somerville in the Peerage of Scotland†). Her will dated 5th October, 1804, proved 16th October, 1817. Died intestate 1762, leaving issue (with a second son, Col. William Somerville Limrick, in the Hon. East India Co.'s Military Service, who bought a valuable estate at Union Hall, Co. Cork, and died there unmarried, 14th August, 1831 ; and two daus.—Mary, married, 1794, Richard Hungerford, and Judith Anne, married, in 1808, John Hingston, and d.s.p. 1829), an elder son :

Rev. Paul Limrick, Scholar Trinity College, Dublin, 1773 ; Secretary of the College Historical Society, 1775,—6 ; B.A. 1775, M.A. 1782 ; afterwards

* By Anne Neville, his wife, daughter of John Neville, of Furnace, Co. Kildare, Esq., son of Colonel Richard Jones, who assumed the name of "Neville" on his marriage with Mary, sole heir of Richard Neville, of Furnace. This last-named (Richard Neville) was great-grandson of the Hon. Francis Neville, second son of Edward, Fifth Baron Abergavenny, the lineal descendant of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Joan, his wife, daughter of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III.

† Whose father's mother was Margery Montgomery, sister of the First Earl of Eglinton, and great-granddaughter of Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert III., of Scotland.

D.D., Deacon 1st November, and Priest 20th December, 1778, both at Cork, Licensed to be Curate of St. Ann's Shandon, Cork, 8th January, 1781; and on 24th December, 1782, to be Curate of St. Mary Shandon, at £50. Had letters dimissory to Canterbury Diocese 14th January, 1788. Afterwards Chaplain to the Presidency of Fort William, Bengal. Appointed Bishop of Calcutta, but was lost at sea in the vessel in which he was coming to England for consecration in 1809.* Will dated at Calcutta 16th May, 1807: read 6th August, 1810; proved by the Registrar in 1845. He married, in St. Michan's, Dublin, 14th July, 1782, Margaret, daughter of Robert Law, Esq. (of the House of Lauriston), of Dublin, Leixlip, and Cork, Barrack Master General of all Ireland. Her marriage portion charged on the lands of Roberts-town, Leixlip, Co. Kildare, and lands in Co. Monaghan, etc. She died in 1830, and her will was proved by the Registrar in 1841. By her, Dr. Limrick had issue two sons and four daughters:

I. William Alexander Limrick, baptized in St. Mary's Shandon, 11th October, 1783. Appointed to a writership in the Hon. East India Company's Service, but was accidentally shot by a friend on the eve of his departure for India; d.v.p. unm.

II. John Sullivan Limrick survived his father, but died unmarried, (admn. granted 1833), when his sisters became heiresses to their father.

I. Mary Anne Limrick, d. unm. Sept. 1813. Bur. at Myross, 1st. Oct.

II. Charlotte Cameron Limrick, eldest surviving daughter and co-heir, m. in St. Peter's, Cork, August 15th, 1811, Capt. Lyttelton Lyster, 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, but afterwards 1st Royal Surrey Regt., of Lysterfield, Union Hall, Co. Cork, J.P. (cousin of above-mentioned Col. Anthony Lyster, being eldest surviving son of Rev. John Lyster, D.D., Chaplain to the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his wife's cousin, and afterwards Rector of the Crown living of Clonpriest, Diocese of Cloyne), who died 20th February, 1850. She died 14th May, 1849, and was buried in Creagh churchyard, Ballinasloe, having had, with other issue, two sons:

I. Lyttelton Henry Lyster, born 21st July, 1814, 1st Royal Surrey Regt., married in St. Thomas's, Dublin, March, 1846, Jane, eldest daughter of his uncle, Charles Lyster, Royal Marines, of Riverstown, Co. Cork, who died June 13th, 1904. He sold his portion of the Schull property about 1860. He died

* [The See of Calcutta was founded in 1813.—EDITOR.]

- November 24th, 1890, having had issue a son—Lyttelton Annesley Alen Lyster—and four daughters, of whom the eldest, Marion Georgina, m. 1877 Rev. Edward Denny, M.A. (nephew of the late Sir Edward Denny, Bart.) and has a son : Rev. Henry Lyttelton Lyster Denny, M.A.
2. George Annesley Lyster, born 10th July, 1828, godson and namesake of his father's cousin, George Annesley, Earl of Mountnorris. Sold his share of the Schull property. Married Marian, dau. P. Morgan, Esq., and has issue an only son : Rev. Henry Cameron Lyster, B.D.
- III. Margaret Frances Limrick, married (settlement dated 27th May) 1818, Joseph Pigott Rogers, Esq., of Killeigh, Co. Cork, and died without issue in November, 1861.
- IV. Matilda Limrick, died before 1830, having married Charles MacKenzie, Esq., Bengal Co.'s Service. He died intestate (administration granted to Charlotte C. Lyster), having had issue (with two sons, Frederick and Charles, who died unmarried), an eldest son and eight daughters :
1. Kenneth MacKenzie, in the Army, died 26th January, 1874, having executed a will in New Zealand leaving all he possessed to his daughter, Pauline MacKenzie.
 1. Margaret MacKenzie, married first, Lieutenant Nenon Armstrong, of Clontarf, Co. Dublin, afterwards General, and had a daughter Mary, married . . . Douglas (? and Charles, Robert, Edward, Jane, Minnie, and Donata Armstrong).
 2. Eliza MacKenzie, married Rev. Robert Cross, of Kingston, Somerset, afterwards of Ockham Rectory, Ripley, Surrey.
 3. Matilda Pugh MacKenzie, married first, Captain M. Charles Maher of Woodlands, Somerset, by whom she had three sons—Daniel, Kenneth, and Nicholas Maher, and a daughter, Eliza Maher (who married . . . Howard). She married secondly, . . . Blair, by whom she had two daughters—Louisa Blair (married . . . Murrey) and Thomasina Blair (married . . . O'Moore). She died intestate 31st March, 1853, leaving her second husband and her six children surviving.
 4. Louisa MacKenzie, married Major Charles Carter, 16th Regiment of Foot, and had issue two daughters, one of whom is probably identical with "Anne, daughter Colonel Carter," 16th Regiment who married Colonel Wm. Collis Spring, and had Captain Francis Spring, 57th Regiment (killed in the Indian Mutiny), who married Sara Ellen, daughter Lieutenant-Colonel

Edward Day, H.E.I.C.S., and had a son and a daughter—Wm. Ed. Day Spring, 24th Regiment, born 1855, and Anne E. F. Spring. (See Foster's "Royal Descents," page 74.)

5. Jemima MacKenzie, married William Henry Oakes, Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army.
6. Caroline MacKenzie, married Arthur Plowden, 5th Bengal Cavalry, by whom she had a son—Cornwallis Plowden—and two daughters—Pauline Plowden (married . . . Austin) and Matilda Plowden (married . . . Melville).
7. Helen MacKenzie, married Arthur Grote, Esq., Bengal Civil Service, and had a son—(? S. M.) Grote.
8. Pauline Jemima Catherine MacKenzie, married 1839 Major-General Francis Drummond (second son of Sir Francis Drummond, 2nd Bart.), and had issue two sons and three daughters :
 - (1) Francis Charles Drummond, Major, 7th Bengal Native Infantry, born 1840, died unmarried 1880.
 - (2) Charles Forbes Drummond, born 1861.
 - (1) Pauline Mary Drummond, married 1865 James Wallace Quinton, C.S.I., Deputy Commissioner, Assam, who died 1891.
 - (2) Alice S. H. Drummond, married 1871 Maurice Thompson Carmichael, Esq., of East End, Co. Lanark, who died 1892, leaving issue.
 - (3) Margaret Drummond, married 1869 Lieutenant-General Thomas Maynard Hazlerigg, late R.A. (son of Sir Arthur Grey Hazlerigg, 12th Bart.), heir-presumptive to his nephew, Sir Arthur Grey Hazlerigg, 13th Bart., and has, with other issue, a son :
 Thomas Hazlerigg, Lieutenant A.S.C., married 1903 Edith Violet, only daughter late Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. McCheane, R.M.L.I., and has a son :
 Arthur Hazlerigg.

M. L. L. DENNY, M.A.

Authorities :—Wills, Marriage Licence Bonds, Admon. Bonds, Repositories of Decrees, and Derry Hearth Money Rolls, in the Dublin Public Record Office; Parish Registers of Myross, Co. Cork, of Derry Cathedral, and of St. Michan's, Dublin; Brady's "Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross;" pamphlet entitled "Estates of Rev. Paul Limrick and Mrs. Limrick," Calcutta, 1867; marriage settlements, and other documents, etc.

A Review and Some Remarks.

"CALCUTTA: OLD AND NEW."

(SECOND NOTICE.)

(*Vide pp. 170-194 of Vol. I.*)

Yours the secret is, Anjeno !
Yours the passed away renown !
Serenade without a singer,
Let me take the music down :
Harp-strings, answer to my finger,
Through the time-stained town.

J. J. Cotton in *The Calcutta Review*, October 1898.

"I have seen Bengal, there the teeth are red and the mouth is black."—Oriental Proverb.



SOME apology is due to Mr. J. J. Cotton for placing the opening verse of "The Birthplace of Sterne's Eliza" at the head of these resumed "Remarks." It has nothing to do with our city, but by mentally substituting "Calcutta" for "Anjeno" a charming chord is struck by way of an overture to the further weaving of the story of Calcutta both Past and Present. When the formation of the Calcutta Historical Society was mooted, it was intended that its aim should lie in the direction of an authorised history of the city and neighbourhood. I am not aware that this idea has been abandoned and these random notes are offered in the hope that some day they may prove of service to the compiler of our "magnum opus."

Two or three mistakes crept into my last article. On page 188 the "Baman-basti" tank should be termed the "Teen-conea" (three-cornered) tank,—the former name being that of the large tank lying between Camac and Hungerford Streets towards Lower Circular Road. On page 184 "Colonel James Kyd" should read "Mr. James Kyd" and on page 185 "Billy Spike" should of course be "Billy Speke."

Mrs. Hemans' "The Boy stood on the Burning Deck" might well have been partly inspired by the story of the heroic midshipman of the *Kent* and his stricken father. There are points in the story of both young heroes common to each. In Mr. Rampini's fine collection of old Calcutta views reproduced on our "Ochterlony" post-card series is one showing Speke Street (formerly Ford

Street) leading off Chowringhee, now Sudder Street, but I venture to suggest that an alternative name is badly needed for either Middleton Row or Middleton Street and that the revival of a "Speke Street" (in memory of the young sailor who fell at the siege of Fort Orleans) would be a graceful municipal improvement and at the same time a happy termination to the confusion caused by there being two important thoroughfares very similarly named near to each other and yet far apart. The original Speke Street was named after Mr. Peter Speke, a member of council.

On pages 1-2 of the book there is a reference to a religious "poem" of the fifth century (*sic*) as giving the first *authentic* glimpse of Calcutta. The word I have italicised seems strangely out of place from the pen of a serious historian; the poem mentioned being itself of apocryphal origin. There are probably references to Calcutta in the *Puranas* (according to the *Indian Antiquary*) and elsewhere equally authentic which is no admission whatever in favour of the acceptance of Bipraodas' praise of the serpentine goddess from the historical standpoint.

"On page 109, (writes Mr. S. C. Sanial,)" Mr. Cotton calls Maharaja Nanda Kumar a Brahmin of the highest "rank." This is evidently a piece of "Macaulayan vividness," for does not the essayist say in his "Warren Hastings" that Nuncomar was a "Brahmin of the Brahmins" and at the same time the blackest monster in human form? The late Dr. J. N. Bhattacharya, President of the College of Pundits, Nuddea, author of "Hindu Castes and Sects," writes thus in that book (p. 39):—"It may be mentioned here that Nanda Kumar was not a high-caste Brahman, and was very far from being the head of the Brahman community as Macaulay has represented him to have been for artistic colouring of the picture. Nanda Kumar was in fact a middle-class *Rarhiya* Brahman, whose family had once been outcasted, and regained their status partly by a humiliating and expensive ceremony of expiation and partly by forming connections with families of a higher status." Thus the minutiae of "regenerate existence" have clearly nonplussed Mr. Cotton, besides the "Macaulayan vividness." In some places, Mr. Cotton writes Nuncumar in others Nanda Kumar and this leads to a double entry on his Index.

"Mr. Cotton gives, in two different places (pp. 123 and 365), two different dates of the death of Macaulay's Omichand—1763 and 1767. Neither of these dates is correct, nor even the name, Omichand, which in one place (p. 271) appears as Amin Chand. A facsimile of "Omichand's" original will is now preserved in the records of the Calcutta High Court, and as an Advocate of the same Court, Mr. Cotton could have learned from the same document that "Omichand" was really Amir Chand who died on December 5, 1758."

The following "birth" announcements are taken from the Calcutta Directory for 1820. They cover the first ten days of that year and are curious as showing the phraseology in which these interesting notices were then couched. It is possible that even when the nineteenth century was in its teens it was not unusual for notices to be found in churches indicating the seats of the "ladies" of the settlement and those of the "inferior women."

JANUARY.

1. Mrs. B. Barber, Junior, of a son.
2. At Bankipore, Mrs. Bell, of a son.
4. At Chandernagore, the Lady of Lieutenant R. K. Erskine, of a daughter.
5. The Lady of David Darling, Esq., Assistant Surgeon, of a son.
6. At Pykporah in the Krishnaghur district, the Lady of Richard De Courcy, Esq., of a Son.
6. The Lady of James W. Taylor, Esq., of a son.
7. At Chowringhee, the Lady of Captain Duncan McLeod, of Engineers, of a son.
8. The Lady of H. Taylor, Esq., of a son.
9. The Lady of Captain J. N. Jackson, of a son.
10. Mrs. Martin, wife of Sergeant-Major Martin, of H.M. 8th Light Dragoons, of a daughter.

In my former "Remarks" I referred to the Chevalier de L'Etang who died at Gazipore in 1840. My friend, Mr. Firminger, has pointed out some references to the Chevalier in the *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings* (the popular edition printed at Allahabad in 1907, pp. 117 *et seq.*) where however the name is given as De l'Etaign. According to Lord Hastings, de l'Etaign had been not a page of Maria Antoinette (as says Mr. Cotton on p. 509) but a Superintendent of the stud of King Louis XVI.

Colonel Crawford has very kindly sent our editor the extract from Casanova's *Memoirs* which it is supposed may relate to Edward Tiretta.

(*Memoires de Casanova de Senigault*, Vol. IV., Chapter V., pp. 129, 130.)
 "Tiretta plia bagage et vint à la Petite Pologne, n'apporter la facheuse nouvelle. Je le logeai au Temple, et un mois après, approuvant sa vocation d'aller teuter fortune aux Indes, je lui donnai une lettre de recommandation pour M. d'O— à Amsterdam, qui, en moins de quinze jours, le placa en qualité d'écrivain sur un vaisseau de la compagnie qui allait à Batavia. S'il avait eu une bonne conduite, il serait devenu riche; mais, ayant trempé dans une conspiration, il fut obligé de s'enfuir, et depuis il éprouva de grandes vicissitudes. J'ai su d'un de ses parents qu'en 1788 il était au Bengale, riche, mais dans l'impuissance de réaliser sa fortune pour retourner dans sa patrie et il passer le reste de ses jours. J'ignore ce qu'il est devenu depuis."

Mr. Cotton deals rather harshly with the character of William Coates Blaquiere. In describing Zoffany's Altar Piece at St. John's, Mr. Cotton writes : " The disciple, John, who is leaning on His (the Saviour's) shoulder, is declared to be Mr. Blaquiere, for many years a police magistrate. If this be the case, the selection must be adjudged to be an inappropriate one, for John Clark Marshman in his biography of Carey, the elder Marshman and Ward describe Blaquiere as a 'Bramanized European' notorious for his hostility to Christianity and his indifferent character." It is possible that Mr. Cotton has failed to detect the bias of J. C. Marshman's book. The noble and successful lives of the great Baptist missionaries did not require the almost unscrupulous advocacy of their biographer. Blaquiere was the police magistrate appointed by the Government to report on the doings of the missionaries in Bow Bazar, and he therefore comes within the reach of the Marshman whip. On the monument over his grave in the Lower Circular Road cemetery, it is recorded that Blaquiere was a friend of the great and good Sir William Jones, and that in itself is no mean testimony to his worth. The statement that he was "notorious for his hostility to Christianity," is absolutely lacking in proof, though it may be owned that there are traditions, not to his credit, but the inscription on his monument shews him as in his way quite distinguished, and, despite failings, deserving of something better than, in so important a book as Mr. Cotton's, to be characterised by the slander of a foe. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* in 1892 says: " The house next to the Baitakhana was occupied by Mr. Blaquiere, the oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nun-Cumar, he has seen the maidan all rice-field." He arrived a lad of fourteen with his fair hair done up in a pig-tail on his back. Referring to the tradition that Zoffany's St. John is Blaquiere, Mr. Firminger in his *Guide* writes : " One would have been tempted to believe that one of the fair sex must have sat for the St. John, who, after the wont of the XVIIIth century painters, is depicted as a smooth-cheeked and delicate *blonde*." Oddly enough this apparent inconsistency supports tradition, for, in an obituary notice of J. J. L. Hoff, it is recorded that many of Blaquiere's most brilliant pieces of detective work were due to his success disguised as a woman.

The Anglo-Indian of to-day seldom realizes that India once had a navy of her own which during two and a half centuries of existence rendered invaluable services in the Orient. Lieutenant Charles Rathbone Lowe, formerly in the service, has told its stirring tale from 1613 to 1863. Mr. Cotton somewhat fails to emphasize the value to Calcutta of the squadron lying off Fort William at the outbreak of the Mutiny, when almost the last of the long series of deeds of moment were placed to its credit. There was a cessation

of hostilities in Persian waters and a chronic state of panic prevailed in Calcutta in June of the Mutiny year. This would have been greatly intensified but for the sense of security afforded by the sight of the *Punjab*, *Semiramis*, *Auckland*, *Zenobia*, *Coromandel* and others followed by the *Shannon* and *Pearl*, during the development and suppression of the "troubles" as well as by the presence of the greater part of their crews on duty on shore.

The Governor-General being convinced of the complicity in the rising of the King of Oude and his intriguing minister, Ali Nuckee Khan, communicated with Commander Foulerton of the *Punjab* as the senior naval officer, who while at church on Sunday (June 14) received a note desiring his immediate attendance on Lord Canning. The result of the interview was the appearance of the *Semiramis* off Garden Reach at daybreak the next morning, the *Punjab* having "her floats off." Colonel Powell with 500 men of the 53rd Regiment, some artillery, and the Governor-General's Bodyguard surrounded the King's vast enclosure of huts (containing some 1,500 armed followers) and the planned surprise was complete.

When the English officers made their appearance in the King's apartments, the wretched tool of the mutineers reduced by debauchery to a state of imbecility denied complicity in the rebellion and begged not to be removed. He was driven to the Fort in a carriage escorted by the bodyguard, while Ali Nuckee Khan and others were taken to the ghat and shipped aboard the *Semiramis*. Commander Foulerton has placed on record the story. He writes:—"Mr. Edmonstone, three or four others and myself, went into the house and up into the king's bedroom. We were kept outside a short time I suppose till he was ready to receive us. We then went in and I found him sitting on his bed and some of his wives and people were present. * * * His wives were very noisy and he was in great distress and seemed very unwilling to go on board, upon which I told Mr. Edmonstone that I supposed we should have to hoist him in, and as there seemed to be some difficulty Mr. Edmonstone sent one of the Bodyguard up to Government House and a carriage was sent down for him. I took Ali Nuckee Khan and two or three others on board of the *Semiramis* to Calcutta and landed them at the Fort."

The proposal (writes Lieutenant Lowe) of the gallant Captain of the *Punjab*, an officer, like many of his profession, accustomed to "stand no nonsense" to hoist the august sovereign of Oude on board his ship by "a whip on the mainyard" with no more ceremony than would be observed in the case of a barrel of pork or a drunken sailor must have amused, if it did not excite the horror of, the Foreign Secretary accustomed to carry out the strict etiquette of Eastern Courts at all interviews with the dethroned monarchs of Delhi and Lucknow.

In consequence of these events Calcutta was again in panic, the most alarming rumours circulated, crowds of refugees thronged the ships and one night the gallant proposer of the hoisting of serene majesty, who generally slept on shore, on coming back on board "found that a lady was occupying his bed."

Detachments of naval men were drafted up-country, among them the *Shannon's* brigade under the gallant and illfated Captain William Peel, and performed services of untold value. The Peel statue was formerly within Eden Gardens and the removal to its present position, according to the wits of the day, created an "Adamless Eden."

A poem by the late Gerald Massey, which appeared in the *Athenæum* of June 12, 1858, renders tribute to Sir Robert's "Sailor Son" closing with the following lines—

"Our old Norse Fathers speak in you,
 "Speak with their strange sea charm,
 "That sets our heart a-beating to
 "The music of the storm.
 "There comes a spirit from the deep,
 "The salt wind waves its wings,
 "That rouses from its Inland sleep
 "The blood of the old Sea Kings."

The story of England's Army in the East has never lacked historians. That of its Navy is well nigh forgotten—the official records even having been destroyed. The Persian Gulf, Java, Karachi, Aden, China, New Zealand, Mooltan, Perim, the Andamans, the Mutiny and the Red Sea indicate some of the great memories, both in Peace and War, that the mention of it revives. Its flag was officially and finally hauled down in Bombay Harbour in 1863.

I have already mentioned that Dr. Samuel Johnson at one time contemplated an Indian career; had he acted upon the impulse he would not only soon have realised that there was at least one other Englishman besides Edmund Burke "capable of writing" the letters of *Junius*, but would have refrained from speaking of Clive as "loaded with wealth and honours; a man who had acquired his fortune by such crimes, that his consciousness of them impelled him to cut his own throat." To which Boswell interposed "might not this nobleman have felt everything weary, stale, flat and unprofitable as Hamlet says?" and Johnson replied "Nay, if you are to bring in gabble I'll talk no more. I will not upon my honour!" So Boswell, ever kindly, ever suave, closes with "My readers will decide upon this dispute." His readers have decided.

In the *Essays of Elia*, Charles Lamb, writing of his contemporaries at Christ's Hospital, mentions "Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, a scholar and a

gentleman in his teens. He has the reputation of an excellent critic; and is author (besides the *Country Spectator*) of a Treatise on the Greek article, against Sharpe. M. is said to bear his mitre high in India, where the *regni novitas* (I dare say) sufficiently justifies the bearing. A humility quite as primitive as that of Jewel or Hooker might not be exactly fitted to impress the minds of the Anglo-Asiatic diocesans with a reverence for home institutions, and the church which those fathers watered. The manners of M. at school though firm were mild and unassuming." "A scholar and gentleman in his teens" and afterwards Calcutta's first Bishop—and never a believer of his early promise.

Here is a reference to another Zoffany painting to add to those previously noted on page 179. Henry Meredith Parker in "The Adjutant," after referring to various Indian fighters of renown, remarks—

"But turn to greater heroes—chief of which is

"A punchy looking man with crimson breeches

"As Zoffany has painted—by his side

"Stands Jaffier Ally Cawn; to whom you know

"The British warrior, with a modest pride,

"Is lending half a sovereignty or so.

"Jaffier looks blandly, with a smile paternal,

"But nathless wishes Satan had the Colonel.

"The Colonel!—a Napoleon in his sphere,

"Grasping as brave, unscrupulous as wise;

"A kind of legal, regal, buccaneer

"Who treated empires like a Spanish prize;

"Took, spoiled, broke into fragments; but alive,

"Or dead, few mate with that same Colonel Clive."

To the Zoffany pictures might possibly be added the "Death of Captain Cook, 1779" in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital. Though not an Indian subject it may have come from the artist's brush when in India.

On page 178 I quoted a piece of vernacular doggerel about the old ensign of John Company. Another version, taken from "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque" (Vol. I., p. 134) by Fanny Parkes, published in 1850, reads—

Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan,

Banker Leek ne marleo Hindostan,

Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.

Lall, lall kourtee, koe jawan

Hart min Putter kullee, pet per tosdan

Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.

Agi, agi Pultan, peche peche sowar
 Top ke dunkar se baghe Hindoo Musulman
 Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.
 Dus dus Company jin min goree goree Captan
 Godamee fire bolte, nikul jaoe aousan
 Mere jan khyn dekha Company nishan.

In the same work are found many Oriental proverbs ; here are two—

“Plant a tree, dig a well, write a book, go to Heaven.”

“He who has the stick, his is the buffalo.”

A local antiquary tells me that somewhere in the files of the old *Calcutta Gazette* is a reference to the arrival of Milton, the horse-dealer in Dhurrumtollah, luckily bringing his “mews” with him ; and in Hicky’s *Bengal Gazette* this impromptu on a shrew (I quote from memory)—

“Mills, wheels and hammers, stop your trivial noise—

“For you are nothing to my lady’s voice :

“She drowns the sound of mill and wheel and hammer,

“I only wish she’d drown herself—oh— —!”

Mr. E. W. Madge has written very fully on Calcutta’s “Forgotten Bards” in the *Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Recorder* of May 10-25 and June 10, 1895, and devotes himself to *Anglo-Indian Hymn Writers* in the *Statesman* of December 22, 1907. All these articles are, as is usually the case when the result of Mr. Madge’s researches are given to the world, of considerable moment as historical records.

Mr. Wilfred Whitten’s book “London in Song” is before me, an admirable anthology of Poetry and Verse with “London” as its theme. When shall we possess “Calcutta in Verse”? Material abounds for the purpose from the pages of Hicky’s *Gazette* to the newspapers of 1908. The work of the true poet should be garnered in, the passing squib (often of more than ephemeral interest) not barred admission and even the productions of Indian poetasters in English should have a place. A line of one of them still haunts my memory. The “Poem” was on “Calcutta,” and our leading business thoroughfare is thus immortalised—

“This is Old Court House Street—a street of beauty rare

“Where the great Jewellery emporiums at each other glare.”

Who reads Henry Meredith Parker nowadays? And yet his *Bole Ponjis* (the Punch Bowl) published in London in 1851 but written here

“Where Ochterlony’s Column proudly rears

“Its melon to the still astonished spheres,”

is full of the true poetic ring while free from the repudiation of the wise conventionalities of the versifier’s art.

A chance cutting from the *Indian Daily News* of about 1894, now on my table, recalls vividly that departed local atrocity the horse tram-car of antiquity—

“ Hai ! bandho ! bandho ! loud I bawl
 “ Ek dum si ! Kubberdar!
 “ The horse suspends its sickly crawl,
 “ I occupy the car.
 “ The driver jerks, the coolies shove,
 “ The baboos shout out ‘ maar ! ’
 “ But, hang me, if all this will move
 “ The Dhurumtollah Car.”

Our never-to-be-forgotten Minto Fête will very likely be best enshrined in memory by the *Englishman* of February 9, 1907—

“ If seven men spent seven lakhs
 “ For several million tries
 “ Do you suppose, the Bailiff said,
 “ They'd draw a single prize ?
 “ ‘ I doubt it ’ said the Buckilag—
 “ And wiped his streaming eyes.

In 1867 “ Lays and Lyrics ” appeared in volume form ; its author, W. H. Abbott, Junior, was Registrar of the Diocese of Calcutta. As “ Pips ” he broke out into squibs and parodies, clever, racy and humorous but local and of temporary interest. A Mr. George Galloway published in Calcutta in 1845 a volume of sacred poems somewhat stilted in style and stated in a preface that he was prepared to meet with meekness “ the attacks which the pen of sarcasm might indite.” This roused “ Pips ” who responded—

“ Should Pegasus e'er turn to grass,
 “ And wander from his stall away,
 “ We'll mount Apollo on an ass
 “ Or, just the same, a Galloway.”

A discussion having arisen as to the best division of the twenty-four hours, Sir Edward Coke, the lawyer, wrote

“ Six hours to sleep, in law's grave study six,
 “ Four spent in prayer, the rest on nature fix ! ”

But this was capped by Sir William Jones, the Orientalist and a Judge in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal:—

“ Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven,—
 “ Ten to the world allot and all to Heaven ! ”

Sir William was with Dr. Samuel Johnson a member of the famous Literary Club, and Johnson presented a copy of his *Persian Grammar* (1772) to Warren Hastings.

The expression of the following amiable sentiment is attributed to no less a personage than Warren Hastings—

“A serpent bit Francis, that virulent Knight.”

“What then? ’Twas the serpent that died of the bite!”

The lays of the young East Indian, Derozio, are not to be found upon the bookshelves of this generation, but I believe an attempt is now being made to publish them in something like completeness. Here is a re-discovered fragment from the poet’s pen—a pen which with the maturing of years would most probably have purged itself of too pronounced a reliance on the formulæ and accepted traditions of the Byronic School.

“To Henry Meredith Parker, Esq., B.C.S., the following tribute of admiration is respectfully inscribed.

“Delicious minstrelsy alone can bring

“Down to this earth the rainbow hues of heaven ;

“And oh ! to fly upon an angel’s wing,

“To highly favoured bards alone is given—

“To weave a deathless wreath of leaves and flowers

“None but the gifted poet’s hand may dare ;

“To gild with sunshine this bleak world of ours

“And chase its darkness is the minstrel’s care.

“Bard of our sunny land, and golden sky !

“My heart has gladdened o’er thy magic lay ;

“’Tis like the hymn of seraphim on high,

“That once awakened never dies away—

“My soul hath drunk it—and it is to me

“Sweet Bard ! a draught of immortality !”

There was once a great hubbub in the Calcutta papers about the appointment of Mr. Beadon, the able Secretary to the Government of Bengal, as Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium on the ground of supersession of seniors, and Mr. H. W. Torrens’ scholarly muse propounded the following :—

“Beadon o’er seniors bounds away,

“And back to naught doth thrust ’em,—

“A most uncustomary way

“To reach the Board of Custom.

“Nay, says the *Friend*, I must beseech

“Don’t blame (for ’taint his fault) him

“The rule has always been to reach

“The Board of Salt *per saltum*.

"Well quoth some superseded elf,
 "Don't mind, I've got one hope, I'm
 "Sure e'er all's done, he'll be himself
 "Beadon,—the Bored of Opium."

Our chief complaint against Torrens is that while his verse is fragrant with charm and *verve* it is almost silent as regards Calcutta.

H. M. Parker in *Chateaux en Espagne* writes of the Calcutta of his boyish imagination:—

"Says I, in that metropolis,
 "They call it there of Palaces—
 "That glowing Heliopolis
 "Where fortune fills men's chalices—
 "I'll have a marble residence,
 "Rich marble baths and fountains
 "With a commanding view from thence
 "Of the Himilayah mountains."

but subsequently confesses that the ideal was not as the real—

"The Palace City which he sketch'd
 "Into vast splendour starting,
 "Like one by Pirenisi etch'd
 "Or Babylonian Martin,
 "He finds half rubbish and half glare,
 "Whitewash and green venetians,
 "Straw roofs, and orders which I swear,
 "No Romans knew or Grecians."

I have already quoted from "The Adjutant" which has no allusion to any gentleman of the Regimental Staff but to that venerable, sad, not to say austere bird which formerly ornamented the housetops and monuments of Calcutta—the *Arden dubia* or Gigantic Heron of Bengal. I have looked in vain in *Calcutta Old and New* for a reference to his final disappearance from our landscapes. The exit of a popular citizen of such importance surely merits a passing notice?

Verse has been busy too with our domestics. Here is "Our Dhoby."

"This is the dhoby man smiling and black—
 "He takes away TEN and brings PANCH COLLAR back,
 "When I say to him Dhoby-man, this will not do!
 "He says TEEN COLLAR took Sahib, I giffin' you TWO."

while a writer in the *Calcutta Philatelic World* of September 15, 1895, in continuance of "Aliph Cheem's" misbeliefs concerning India in the *Lays of Ind*:

" That Missionary hardships would move you to pity ;
 " That tigers are common and ayahs are pretty,
 " And that sweet English girls by the P. and O. carried
 " By hundreds are no sooner landed than married "

adds—

" That elephants prance in the streets of Calcutta
 " Where leopards and cobras stroll wild in the gutter !
 " That a coolies' a drink and a gharry's a hackary.
 " That Macaulay was born there, or p'raps it was Thackeray.
 " That a poojah's a fruit, and that everything's gurrum ;
 " That Doorga was mated to Mr. Mohurrum ;—
 " And that all through the place the great Ganges goes rippling
 " With the Taj, Madame Gomez, the Kutub, and Kipling."

But our anthology would soar at times into the true poetic atmosphere. " Rose Aylmer's grave " has enriched English literature at its best. It has not merely, however, inspired Landor but also our townswoman, Mrs. Fleming, a sister of Mr. Rudyard Kipling. All know " A. M. F's " poem beginning—

" An English grave 'neath Indian skies
 " Marked by a sullen stone ;
 " And this is where Rose Aylmer lies
 " Fair, flowerless and alone."

It saw the light originally in *Temple Bar*.

The same lady has written " Some Old Calcutta Graveyards " of " more than a hundred years ago," opening with—

" Here they rest by the world forgotten,
 " Under sarcophagus, pillar, and urn,
 " Stones are crumbled and rails rust rotten,
 " Since they trod the path that has no return.
 " They, from England, so far removed here,
 " They could not dream how we come and go,
 " Those who ruled and who lived and loved here—
 " More than a hundred years ago."

And finally there is Mr. J. J. Cotton's " Madam Grand " (" wife of mighty Tallyrand.")* It appeared in the *Englishman* of May 21, 1897, and two only of its verses are now quoted.

* In the recently published *Historical Essays and Studies* by Lord Acton there is an amusingly cur reference to Madame Grand. " In 1796 he (Tallyrand) found himself restored to France in the embarrassing company of a lady who had got Francis into trouble before him." Th is is a good " let off " for Francis!



A SUPPOSED PORTRAIT OF COL. & LADY MONSON.
(Photo kindly supplied by H. S. Keene, C.I.E.)

"Was it that half-Danish air"
 "Of your birthplace made you faint"
 "Surely some ambitious star"
 "Watch'd that night at Tranquebar,
 "And a more than human hope"
 "Cast the childish horoscope—
 "How you were reserved to reign
 "Queen of Ganges, Queen of Seine."
 "Does your spirit haunt the floor
 "Of that house in Alipur—
 "Vis-a-vis to Francis set
 "In the spectral minuet,
 "All Calcutta came to you—
 "Fit obeisance to do
 "What a story could you tell
 "Girlish Ghost, *jadis si belle!*

"Let's talk of graves and worms and epitaphs."

It will interest Mr. Cotton, with many others, to learn that the tomb of "Hindu" Stuart (*vide* photo facing page 213 of Vol. I) has been repaired, and Mrs. Barwell's tomb (*vide* the same page) appropriately restored and indicated as the result of the action taken by our Society. Our next endeavour might be to settle, if possible, the birthplace of W. M. Thackeray and recommend a tablet in the event of success. The usually accepted story is that the novelist was born in a room on the ground floor of the present Armenian College building, 39, Free School Street, on July 18, 1811, and "Fitzwalter" relates in the *Englishman* of December 7, 1906, that a picture of the house is given in Bishop Hurst's *Indika*.

This is the epitaph on Taretta's wife (*vide* ante) in the smallest of the Park Street Cemeteries—

"Hic Jacet—Angelica de Carrion—Edwardi Taretta Tarvisini—Uxor Delectissima." (Her sister was Mdle Roselyn de Carrion).

And this on a child in Park Street—

"Pure as the dew-drop on the lily's breast,
 "Bright as the star that sparkles in the west,
 "He came awhile to tremble and to shine,
 "Then rose like incense to the Eternal Shrine."

Sir W. W. Hunter in "Some Calcutta Graves" tells of Lady Anne Monson who sleeps by her husband in South Park Street (both graves now being nameless though formerly possibly indicated and certainly capped by a curious coping removed in the later eighties or early nineties) at

her ladyship (a great-grand-daughter of Charles II by Barbara Villiers) felt herself much too good for Calcutta. It was she who set afloat the story that Warren Hastings was the natural son of a steward of her father's, the Earl of Darlington. "If the men of that wrathful age lied about one another, how the ladies fibbed." "After lying speechless through the day," writes a diarist of February 18, 1776, "she (Lady Anne) departed last night at ten."

"Well," says Sir William, "the Englishman in India has no home and he leaves no memory." And again "*The Bengal Obituary*, that pathetically stolid jumble, now forms the best record of a century of tenderness and greatness and grief."

And Derozio :—

"Where are they now? gone to that narrow cell

"Whose gloom no lamp hath broken or shall break,

"Whose secrets never spirit came to tell—

"Oh! that their day might dawn for then they would awake."

And another (by Thackeray's father's grave in North Park Street)

"Read here, how wealth aside was thrust,

"And folly set in place exalted,

"How heroes footed in the dust,

"While lackeys in the saddle vaulted.

"Methinks the tale is never stale,

"And life is every day renewing—

"Fresh comments on the old, old tale

"Of Folly, Fortune, Glory, Ruin."

while *Hickey's Gazette* records that

"Mrs. Mary Bowers, died 1781, fidgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality."

The following by Sir W. W. Hunter is easy to understand : "Not a few Christian graveyards in this 'land of regrets' have had their genesis in the loss of a little child. Yet the solitary place in our small station had a beauty of its own. In its centre rose an aged tamarind tree which spread out its great arms and clouds of feathery foliage enough to overshadow all the graves. The oldest sleeper in that sequestered spot was a little girl. A judge of the last century lost his only daughter, and, in the absence of any consecrated plot of ground, buried her under the tamarind tree at the foot of his garden. On its lowest arm the father had put up a swing for his child. The branch yet showed swollen rings where the ropes cut into the once tender bark. Beneath might be read the inscription on the tomb :—'Arabella Brooke oblit Nov. 6, 1797.' Soon another father had to lay his child under the shade of the tamarind tree; and the spot was decently walled off from the rest of the garden

Less than seventy years added about thirty English tombstones ; but the graves of little children still lay thickest."

Reading this, one seems to hear again the wail of Charles Kingsley's *Soldier's Widow in India*—

" I had his children—one, two, three.
 " One week I had them blithe and sound
 " The next beneath this mango-tree
 " By him in barrack burying ground.
 " 'Tis I, not they, am gone and dead.
 " They live ; they know ; they feel ; they see ;
 " Their spirits light the golden shade
 " Beneath the giant mango-tree."

The original Sooksagar House (page 992) was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence. He started an English farm there. Baretto (was it Joseph or John ?), the Mango Lane magnate, afterwards acquired it as a pleasure resort and added a Roman Catholic Chapel which his successor, Lauraletta, converted into an abode for mahouts and fighting cocks. House and estate have long since been submerged by the river. *The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Recorder* of January 10, 1905, republishes some verses "On the River, September 1829" copied from a very old number of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. I quote four out of nine of them.

" Sukh Sagar " (or the sea of delight.)

" Ode to the Mansion of the late John Baretto, Esq.

" (The princely Indo-Portuguese Merchant)

" deserted and without inhabitant, the writer having obtained entrance through one of the windows.

" And see ! where the desolate mansion of bliss
 " Stands silent, deserted and sad,
 " Where the dark tangled grass hides the serpents that hiss,
 " And the jackals alone are now glad.
 " Fast closed are the doors that were won't to unfold
 " For the idle, the busy, the gay,
 " Not a voice to be heard, not a face to behold,
 " Not an object to tempt a delay.
 " Like a thief in the night through the window I pass
 " To the hall where the feast was arrayed—
 " Where circled full freely the laugh and the glass
 And the revel till morning delayed.

* * * * *

"Baretto! the "ocean of pleasure" is crossed—
 "Did it land thee on shores of the blest?
 "Ah! haply the barque had more safely been lost
 "On an ocean by tempests distressed."

May we hope that the surprised reply to this pointedly personal enquiry was "Well, I'm blest"?

The Corporation of Calcutta pocket diary for 1908, a most useful publication as regards local information, records with much else the Chairmen of the Corporation from 1863 (the names of all officiating officers being in *italics*.)

V. H. Schalch	...	1-7-63 to 2-4-66	<i>R. T. Greer</i>	...	7-3-98 to 23-11-98
Sir Stuart Hogg, Kt.	...	3-4-66 to 12-11-76	<i>F. W. Duke</i>	...	7-1-00 to 17-3-00
<i>Horace A. Cockrell</i>	...	16-3-69 to 28-2-72	<i>A. H. James</i>	...	30-9-00 to 12-10-00
<i>Ulik Browne</i>	...	1-3-72 to 6-1-73	<i>R. T. Greer</i>	...	13-10-00 to 29-8-01
<i>Horace A. Cockrell</i>	...	7-1-73 to 26-10-73	<i>A. E. Silk</i>	...	30-8-01 to 20-11-01
(<i>T. Metcalfe, C.S.I.</i>)	...	13-11-76 to 14-11-78	<i>R. T. Greer</i>	...	21-11-00 to 14-8-03
W. M. Souttar	...	15-11-78 to 17-4-81	<i>A. E. Silk</i>	...	15-8-03 to 25-9-03
<i>H. Beverly</i>	...	10-3-80 to 19-10-80	<i>R. T. Greer</i>	...	26-9-03 to 29-3-04
Sir Henry Harrison, Kt.	...	18-4-81 to 15-4-90	<i>C. G. H. Allen</i>	...	30-3-04 to 14-11-04
<i>H. J. S. Cotton</i>	...	6-5-87 to 9-11-87	<i>R. T. Greer</i>	...	15-11-04 to 25-4-05
Harry Lee	...	16-1-90 to 31-3-95	<i>C. F. Payne</i>	...	26-4-05 to 26-6-05
<i>J. G. Ritchie</i>	...	6-7-92 to 24-9-92	<i>C. G. H. Allen</i>	...	27-6-05 to 15-10-05
"	...	25-3-93 to 31-3-95	<i>C. G. H. Allen</i>	...	16-10-05 to 14-8-06
J. G. Ritchie	...	1-4-95 to 13-4-96	<i>C. F. Payne</i>	...	15-8-06 to 21-9-06
H. C. Williams	...	14-4-96 to 9-12-97	<i>C. G. H. Allen</i>	...	22-9-06 to 9-9-07
<i>W. R. Bright</i>	...	19-5-97 to 9-12-97	<i>C. F. Payne</i>	...	10-9-07 to 10-10-07
W. R. Bright	...	10-12-97 to 29-9-00	<i>C. G. H. Allen</i>	...	11-10-07 to 31-12-07
			Sir Charles Allen	...	1-1-08.

It publishes also an almanack with some local event of importance assigned to most days of the year. When will each member of the Calcutta Historical Society be in a position to use annual diaries of the Society's own production? I commend the idea to our Council as one worth thinking out.

My last article suggested that in the next edition of his book Mr. Cotton should publish lists of the Bishops of Calcutta and of the Winners of the "Viceroy's Cup." I then tendered a roll of the Lords of the Lawn and I now schedule the Monarchs of the Turf.

WINNERS OF THE VICEROY'S CUP, CALCUTTA.

Year.	Owner.	Horse.	Starters.
1856	Mr. Payne	Nero	6
1857	Mr. Return	The Usher	6
1858	Mr. West	Meg Merrilies	5
1859	Mr. West	Meg Merrilies	5
860	Mr. Healy	Coxcomb	8
861	Mr. Payne	Voltige	5

WINNERS OF THE VICEROY'S CUP, CALCUTTA.—(Continued.)

Year.	Owner.	Horse.	Starters.
1862	Mr. Manchester ...	Gridiron ...	4
1863	Capt. Warlow ...	Lord of Clyde ...	7
1869*	Mr. W. W. ...	Favorite ...	9
1870	Mr. W. W. ...	Favorite ...	5
1871	Mr. Minton ...	Partisan ...	9
1872	Mr. Ali Abdulla ...	Satellite ...	7
1873	Mr. Maitland ...	Kingcraft ...	3
1874†	Mr. C. J. Collins ...	Maid of Athens ...	...
1875	Khaja Asanoolah ...	Satellite ...	6
1876‡	Khaja Asanoolah ...	Satellite ...	7
1877	Mr. Maitland ...	Kingcraft ...	6
1878	Mr. Maitland ...	Kingcraft ...	5
1879	Mr. Herbert ...	Cheviot ...	5
1880	Mr. Herbert ...	Blue-Light ...	5
1881	Lord W. Beresford ...	Camballo ...	5
1882	Mr. J. Wilson ...	Salvage ...	5
1883	Mr. Henderson ...	Gudarz ...	7
1884	Mr. Apcar ...	Statesman ...	9
1885	Mah. of Durbungah... ..	Metal ...	12
1886	Mr. Gasper ...	Mercury ...	9
1887	Lord W. Beresford ...	Myall King ...	7
1888	Lord W. Beresford ...	Myall King ...	5
1889	Mah. of Durbungah ...	Pennant ...	9
1890	Lord W. Beresford ...	Myall King ...	6
1891	Mr. Apcar ...	Moorhouse ...	5
1892	Mah. of Cooch Behar ...	Highborn ...	8
1893	Mah. of Cooch Behar ...	Highborn ...	6
1894	Capt. Orr-Ewing ...	Metallic ...	8
1895	Mah. of Patiala ...	Sprightly ...	9
1896	Mah. of Patiala ...	Sprightly ...	8
1897	Lieut.-Col. J. Desraj Urs ...	Leonidas ...	9
1898	Mr. Mackie ...	Vanitas ...	11
1899	Kour Sahib of Patiala ...	Cherry ...	10
1900	Mah. of Jodhpore ...	Up Guards ...	11
1901	Mr. Anandji Nanji ...	Tubal Cain ...	11
1902	Mr. Galstaun ...	Vasto ...	11
1903	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apcar ...	Great Scot ...	7
1904	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apcar ...	Great Scot ...	11
1905	Dr. Spooner Hart ...	Long Tom ...	6
1906	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apcar ...	Fitzgraffton ...	11
1907§	Hon. Mr. A. A. Apcar ...	Fitzgraffton ...	7

* No race during Lord Lawrence's Viceroyalty.

† In 1874 there was a walk over.

‡ Owing to the Imperial Meeting at Delhi no Viceroy's Cup was run for this year. A Prince of Wales' Cup was substituted, which Satellite won after a dead-heat with Lord Clifden.

§ In 1907 Fitzgraffton won in the record time of 3 minutes 2½ seconds.

In the early years the Race was for Trial Stakes. Since 1887 the course has been 1¼ mile.

In the *Journal* of December 22, 1907, "R. D." writes on Calcutta Theatricals of the Past and his valuable notes, somewhat condensed, are now made use of :—

The Old Playhouse in Lal Bazar represented one of the first places of theatrical enterprise, and at the siege in 1756 formed a point from which Suraja-ud-Dowla's artillery battered the Fort. There seems to be ground for a supposition that the premises known as No. 8, Lal Bazar immediately opposite the Police Headquarters are part of this Playhouse. It has the semblance of a place of amusement and a comparison of maps of 1753 and later show a near approach to the location attributed to it. This Old Playhouse was used by amateurs who are stated to have derived assistance from David Garrick himself, for it is recorded that they sent him "two pipes of Madeira" as a present in 1772 in acknowledgment of the trouble that he took to promote their theatrical attempts. Of the next theatre known as the "New Playhouse" built about 1760, we have record in Mrs. Fay's "Original Letters from India" and the manuscripts of contemporary authorities. The New Playhouse stood on the site occupied by Messrs. Finlay Muir and Co.'s offices on the north-west corner of Lyons Range and was built by subscription. The scenery appears to have been furnished from England under the supervision of Garrick, who sent out a Mr. Messinck* for the purpose,

In the first number of *Hicky's Gazette*, dated January 1780, we have the announcement of the performance of "The Beaux Stratagem" and on February 16, 1786, there was produced Rowe's "The Fair Penitent" and we are assured that the fulness of the house "did infinite credit to the liberal sentiments and humane feelings of the Settlement." The farce of "Bon Ton" followed. In the same year Handel's Messiah was "performed," "a delicious treat to lovers of musick." Then appeared the farce of "Who is Dupe?" and the musical entertainment of "The Padlock."

From an advertisement in the *Gazette* of 1786 the tickets for "She Would and She Wouldn't" were one gold mohur Boxes and 8 sicca rupees Pit!

On September 27, 1787, was staged "The Poor Soldier" and the farce "Chrononhoton-thologos;" on January 1, 1788, "Richard the Third" went off well with merited éclat and was followed by Foote's comedy of "The Author." In "The Merchant of Venice" Shylock was "accurate and spirited and Portia elegant and interesting." The "Vauxhall and Fireworks" at Cossinaut Baboo's Garden House "in the Durrumtollah" provided a diversion and was run under the able auspices of Mr. Gairard with the assistance of a French Military adventurer whom Compton styles a "cook, pyrotechnist and poltroon."

* Some interesting references to Bernard Messinck may be found in Buxted's *Echoes* and Mr. Firminger's *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal*.

Murphy's comedy "The Way to keep Him" found its way to Calcutta and was greatly appreciated; while Mrs. Bristow's "private theatre" in Chowringhee was the scene of "The Sultan" and "The Padlock," in the former of which the hostess excelled herself as "the English slave in an Ottoman Seraglio." "The Revenge" followed by the farce "The Irish Widow" was staged at the Calcutta Theatre in 1789 for the benefit of a certain wooden-legged veteran appropriately styled Mr. Battle; while another benefit of "The Grecian Daughter" was tendered for a Mrs. Crucifix. In 1789 we find "She Stoops to Conquer" and in 1808, the last year in which the "New Playhouse" was used, a production of Molière's "The Cheats of Scapin" was staged. A Mr. Lebedeff opened a theatre "by permission of the Hon. the Governor-General" in Durrumtollah in 1795 and it was advertised to be "decorated in the Bengali style" and to open with an Indian serenade.

To harken back, however. There was a theatre in Wheler Place, or Government Place West, whose audiences were extremely select to judge from the "Caution" published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of February 23, 1797:—

"A certain person who made her appearance amongst the company in the auditory on the first night of the performance, is desired to take notice that in future she will not be permitted to remain in the house should she be so ill-advised as to repeat her visit."—Theatre, Wheler Place.

In the Chowringhee Theatre in 1814 were presented "The Rivals" and "Fortune's Frolics." In 1819 were "Bon Ton" and "Raising the Wind." The Dum Dum theatre furnished "Love, Law and Physic" and "The Review, or the Wags of Windsor." At the same time the Athenæum, opened in 1812 at 18, Circular Road, "with a view to securing a respectable and select audience," staged "The Point of Honor" and some humorous farces.

Some well appreciated pieces at the Chowringhee Theatre were "All the World's a Stage," "Ella Rosenberg," "The Finger Post, or Five Miles Off," "Past Ten O'clock or a Rainy Night," "The Upholsterer or What News?" "The Miller and his Men," "The Agreeable Surprise," "Ladoiska" and "Three Weeks after Marriage."

The "subscription theatre" was built at the south-west corner of Theatre Road, adjoined Ballard's Buildings and amongst those who graced its boards was Mrs. Esther Leach. A reduction in the prices of tickets is noticeable in the year 1824. They were: Rs. 8 for boxes and Rs. 6 for the pit. This theatre continued to flourish till destroyed by fire on May 31, 1837. The next theatre that comes into prominence is a temporary one built by Mrs. Leach at the corner of Government Place and Waterloo Street, the site now occupied by Messrs. Cuthbertson and Harper. Here in August 1839

she produced "The Hunchback" and continued her successes till 1840, when the "Sans Souci,"—now St. Xavier's College—was erected, mainly through the activity of Mr. Stocqueler of the *Englishman*. Here Mrs. Leach established herself, opening with Knowles' "The Wife," in March 1841, and continuing practical proprietress of the theatre for two years. Of one of the actresses, Mrs. Deacle, Stocqueler records the opinion:—"Had not her devotion to Bacchus interfered with her attention to the rights of Thalia and Melpomene, she might have been valuable." In 1843 the Sans Souci was the scene of a tragedy. Mrs. Leach, playing the part of Mrs. Wyndham in "The Handsome Husband," was burned and died from the effects. The closing of the Sans Souci followed and the next theatres which came into notice were Van Golder's Lyric Theatre in 1857, the Lyceum on the maidan, Lewis' Theatre Royal and the Opera House. Of the plays that followed from the Mutiny period it would be impossible to give an adequate record; of the players, however, we had Dave Carson of "Bengali Babu" fame and Mr. C. J. Mathews, who appeared at the Opera House (or English Theatre) before H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The prices of the seats were upper tier boxes Rs. 1,000, lower tier Rs. 500, and stalls Rs. 30 each.

The Stanleys, "Tommy" Hudson, the Broughs, the Dallas and Bandmann Companies are of our own era.

"On page 204" (writes Mr. Sanial) "it is stated that the *Englishman* first appeared in 1833 under the title of the *Englishman and Military Chronicle*. This is incorrect. In the Imperial Library there is a file of the *Englishman* of 1833 from which it is clear that the title under which it first appeared on October 1 was simply the *Englishman*. In the following year, 1834, when the *India Gazette* was amalgamated with the *Bengal Harkaru* and *Chronicle*, the *Englishman* opened its columns to military matters. Hence, most probably, from July 1834 the *Englishman*, devoted in part to military subjects, became the *Englishman and Military Chronicle*."

"On the following page" (to again quote Mr. Sanial) "it is said that Charles Thackeray, uncle of the novelist, 'was among the leader-writers and during the eight years which preceded his death (in 1846) a frequent contributor.' This is not altogether correct. When the *Englishman* was started in 1833 Charles Thackeray was secured for the paper, but after a year or so, he and the editor, Stocqueler, disagreed and separated. From 1836 Charles Thackeray was permanently on the staff of the *Bengal Harkaru* and his best writings were done for that paper until his death. A glance through the files of the *Bengal Harkaru* of 1836 and 1837 will show with what acrimony Charles Thackeray used to attack Stocqueler, the editor of the *Englishman*."

An instructive series of articles on "Pillars of Indian Journalism" appeared in the *Journal* during February and March 1908 above the initials "S.C.S."

"On page 210 Mr. Cotton passes a panegyric on the *Friend of India* and certifies that during the editorship of the younger Marshman, its influence had been of the most elevating kind and 'under its *modern daily garb* of the *Statesman* it has forfeited none of its early reputation.' This requires some modification. When the *Friend of India* was taken over by Robert Knight in 1875, the veteran journalist wrote an article called "Ourselves" in which he totally denied the beneficial influence of the *Friend* under the editorial charge of Marshman. He plainly said that it was a hireling organ of the Government secretly subsidised to support the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. Next the *Statesman* is called the "modern daily garb" of the *Friend of India*, which on page 998 is called the progenitor of the *Statesman*. These remarks are quite wide of the mark. The *Friend of India* has never been converted into a daily paper. On January 1, 1877, it was amalgamated with the *Statesman*, and since then, with some intervals, it has been the weekly edition of the *Statesman*. On page 908 it is stated also that the first Bengalee newspaper was printed at Serampur (in 1818). This is an error. The first Bengalee newspaper was printed in Calcutta in 1816, two years earlier than the publication of *Sumachar Darpan* to which Mr. Cotton refers."

Mr. Cotton's reticence on the subject of Clive's Calcutta street fight is amazing. It is referred to on page 176 of my last article and was dwelt upon by Sir Steuart Bayley in a lecture "Lord Clive and his Part in the Foundation of the Indian Empire" delivered to the Royal Society of Arts and published in its *Journal* of November 22, 1907. Clive had taken up a position to the north of Calcutta at Cossipore. The Nawab professed anxiety to negotiate, but, while preliminaries were going on, Clive found that the Nawab's army was marching round on his right flank into Calcutta and that his camp followers were deserting and his communications likely to be cut off. So he determined to attack and did so before daybreak on February 4, 1757. He penetrated easily enough into the midst of the Nawab's camp, and then found himself enveloped in a thick fog. In consequence there came about a want of cohesion in his force, and he was badly mauled, his own artillery firing into his leading lines. However, he got his men together and brought them safely out of their difficulty; and the result was so to impress the Nawab that next day he withdrew his army and entered into a treaty acceding all Clive and Watson had stipulated for, *viz.*, the confirmation of all the Company's privileges, restoration and compensation for the plunder of Calcutta, to which was added, on Suraj-ud-daula's initiative, a mutual offensive and defensive alliance. But another result was that the Nawab's mind was so upset that

henceforth he fluctuated between hatred and fear of the English, so that all confidence in him on the part both of his own people and of the French, who might have helped him, was lost.

That an incident of such supreme importance should be passed over by any Calcutta historian is almost unpardonable. Upper Circular Road preceded Plassey as the scene of an engagement of a momentous character as it can never be estimated to what extent the overwrought manhood of the enfeebled Nawab received its deathblow somewhere in the vicinity of the present Jain temples at Maniktola on that fog-wrapt February morning. It is possible that much of Clive's apparent foolhardiness later in the year was due to the personal experience he gained of the incapacity of Chiragh-ud-daulah ("Lamp of the State") as a leader of men when almost face to face with him in Calcutta. But for Watts at Kasim Bazar there would have been no Clive at Plassey and but for Circular Road there might also have been no Plassey for either Watts or Clive to worry about. It is very strange that there may be to-day men living whose grandfathers were alive in the early days of 1757 and yet the site of a battle with world-moving consequences that took place within easy walking distance of Government House cannot be fixed upon. Surely among the archives of our courts, the records of our treasurers, the shelves of our libraries, the deed-boxes of our lawyers, the recesses of our thousand and one private safes and strong boxes there must be evidence lurking of the exact spot where the thickest of the fight occurred. Who will drag it to the light? A public open space with a mighty obelisk in the centre would be the enduring outcome of a successful quest.

The reference on page 334 to the dispatch of a message on the back of a playing card from Clive to Forde (his second in command in Bengal) prior to the latter's attack on Chinsurah is one of those stories which ought to be true. It would be pleasant to find confirmation of its veracity. Was the card "The Joker"?

Sir Steuart Bayley told the Royal Society of Arts that Clive's mother was a Miss Gaskell and that her sister was the first wife of his (Sir Steuart's) great grandfather; and, for some reason not explained, Clive from about 3 to 10 years of age was brought up by the Bayleys near Manchester. He also traces the name Plassey to the *Palas* tree which abounds in the vicinity of the battle-field.

Mr. Cotton might note in a future edition that the present Turf Club building in Theatre Road was an early headquarters of the East-Indian Railway. On page 582 James Drinkwater Bethune should be John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune. He did not found the Society which bears his name. It was started on December 11, 1851, as a memorial by his friends after he had passed away. The statement on page 689 that Alexander Elliott was

a son of the first Lord Minto is inaccurate—they were brothers. On page 287, Mr. James Hume is wrongly described as the son-in-law of Mr. H. W. Torrens : Mr. J. T. Hume (the present Public Prosecutor) was Torrens' god-son. On page 319-20 the description of the punkahs at 7, Hastings' Street is inaccurate (*vide* p. 85 of this Journal) and the reference on page 559 to Chandernagore as a "Naboth's vineyard" is absurd. At the time of the siege there was war between England, and France and the Nawab was known to be intriguing with Bussy.

The collection destined for the Victoria Memorial Hall has recently received some notable additions, two ancient Persian daggers with enamelled gold sheaths having been bequeathed by His Highness the late Mir Mohamed Hassanali Khan, Talpur, C.I.E. The sheath of one bears the following Persian inscription in enamel :—"Mahomed Hadi Sheralli-Karmalli Khan Mir-dauran who is the life and soul of the world, on the battle-field his sword is like a crocodile in the sea of Oman. This verse is but a small token offered unto him," while the handle of the other contains a strip of iron with a Persian inscription meaning :—"Say, that God is one, and he neither eats nor drinks ; neither is he born, nor does he bear, nor is there any one related to him," and at its junction with the blade :—"Sirkar Mir Mured Ali Khan, Talpur."

Another gift is a suit of Georgian furniture presented by Syed Sirdar Ali Khan of Haiderabad. It comprises 24 chairs, 3 couches, 11 columns or stands and 4 teapoys originally made for the Regent's Pavilion at Brighton. On the sale by order of Parliament of the Pavilion and its furniture the E. I. Company purchased it for their Resident at Haiderabad and it was in use there until about five years ago.

An excellent portrait of John Zepaniah Holwell (1711-1798) of Black Hole memory, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, has been secured for the Hall. It was discovered in Canada, where his descendants are living, and was obtained through the kind offices of Lady Minto. The picture measures 2ft. 2in. by 1ft. 10in., and represents Holwell dressed in a purple-red coat and wearing a wig. In May, 1896, it was exhibited by Mrs. Elizabeth H. F. Holwell, a descendant of the original, at the Art Institute of Chicago, where it was recognised as the work of Sir Joshua on the strength of certain entries in Holwell's diary recording his sittings to the artist.

Some time ago the Maharaja of Durbhangah lent a small ivory table and teapoy, formerly the property of the famous Tippoo Sultan. The Trustees, it is stated, are trying to secure these relics as a "perpetual loan" from the Maharaja.

Mirza Said-ud-din Ahmed Khan of Loharu has contributed an illustrated copy in manuscript of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, in the hand-writing of Shah Rukh

Beg, a well-known artist who died in 1880—also a very valuable group of portraits in which Bahadur Shah, the eldest son of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is shown seated on the throne, with his four sons, seated in front and his grandson standing. He has further given three ivory paintings, one of Fakr-ud-dowlah Nawab Ahmed Bakhsh Khan of Ferozpur Jhirka and Lahoru, drawn by Golam Ali Khan of Delhi, one of Nawab Ziauddin Ahmod Khan of Lahoru, and one of himself by Muhammed Fazl, another artist of Delhi, who died in 1895.

The Trustees of the Memorial have issued a statement of accounts up to 31st December 1907. The subscriptions total Rs. 56,11,196-15-2, and the interest earned on the money-invested amounts to Rs. 9,70,450-10-1, making a grand total of Rs. 65,81,647-9-3. The outstanding subscriptions amount to Rs. 5,65,033-9. The expenditure amounts Rs. 10,12,845-12-11, leaving a balance in the Bank of Bengal of Rs. 50,03,768-3-4.

In looking through a heap of timed-stained books at the Cathedral Library, the Librarian (the Rev. W. K. Firminger) has come across a manuscript letter of Father Anthony Monserrat, S.J., to Father Aquaviva, the then General of the Society of Jesus, bearing the date 1591. It is not quite clear whether it is an original or an ancient copy, but the copious deletions and additions, seem to favour the first alternative. The manuscript has been bound in book form, and the label "Monserrati Sacerdotise" is probably responsible for an error on the part of the Imperial Library when they made the work over to the Cathedral apparently with the idea that it was of purely theological interest. It is an account of a very early Jesuit legation to the Court of Akbar, and contains what must be one of the earliest extant maps of India which can claim to be really scientific. In the map, so far as Bengal is concerned, we find Satgaon, the Portuguese "Little Port," Goli (Hughli) and Betor (Sibpur), where the old Portuguese vessels lay at anchor, while country-craft conveyed their merchandise up the almost vanished Sarasvati River to Satgaon. It is with some propriety that the book has become the property of the Cathedral Library, for it passed from Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William to the Metcalfe Hall collection, and was most probably given to the College by its Vice-Principal, the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the man to whose strenuous and successful efforts was due the creation of the See of Calcutta in 1813.

The personal factor in Indian regiments has always had an influence for good. It has been said that during the Mutiny the loyalty of regiments faithful to the Crown was largely due to the regard and affection of men for officers. The significance, therefore, of a ceremony which took place on December 20 last, at the Circular Road Cemetery cannot be overrated. The 13th Rajputs, accompanied by colours and band, and an escort in review

dress, marched from Alipore to the cemetery where Colonel Henry Forster, C.B., who raised the old Shikhowati Brigade (now the 13th Rajputs) is buried. He died on October 9, 1862. The regiment, which has since left for Hong Kong, was met at the Cemetery by Colonel W. Prior, Major Evans and other officers. Following the example of the officers, each file deposited a floral tribute and saluted. The regiment then halted forming three sides of a square, and the Sabadar Major read in Hindustani an account of Forster's career and the founding of the regiment. The colours were lowered on the grave and the bugles sounded "The Last Post" to the accompaniment of muffled drums. Amongst those present was an aged Chowdhry, who remembers Forster and had long been connected with the Regiment. It added that the tomb of Forster is shortly to be restored at the expense of the officers of his regiment.

It is pleasant to learn that as the result of enquiries made by Babu Kamakhaya Mohun Banerjee the Government of India have issued instructions for the restoration of the raised type inscription which formerly appeared on the frieze of the west portico of the Metcalfe Hall and for the replacement of the existing tablets on the gate pillars by new ones with the words "Imperial Library Metcalfe Hall" inscribed on them.

It would appear that at the time of the conversion of the Metcalfe Hall into the Imperial Library, the vandalism of tearing down the original inscription, bearing Lord Metcalfe's name, from the frieze of the Hall, was committed so that nothing remained to connect the building with its original purpose.

To the list of local memorials may be added an unassuming pillar publicly unveiled by Sir Andrew Fraser at Bhowanipore on January 11, 1908, to record the gallant attempted rescue of a coolie from a sewer in 1907 by Nafar Chunder Kundu who lost his life in the attempt.

The opening early in 1908 of "Chowringhee Mansions" on the site of the old United Service Club in Chowringhee is worthy of a passing note, a portion of the Kyd Street ground floor being opened as a Post Office in place of the godown in Park Street used for many years for that purpose.

The formal opening of an important extension of the Dufferin Zenana Hospital may also be recorded. On February 17, 1908, Her Excellency Lady Minto, in the presence of a distinguished gathering, declared the new buildings open for the use of patients, thus inaugurating a largely increased sphere of usefulness for this valuable institution.

This magazine, according to its title, is devoted to the Past and Present of Bengal. I may be wrong therefore in using its columns on behalf of the future of the Province, and if this be the case I hope I shall be pardoned for the following suggestions.

There is a rumour abroad that the vacant wall spaces above the altar in St. Paul's Cathedral are about to be filled in with frescoes. I feel sure I am but echoing the opinion of many when I urge the great desirability of first taking down and rebuilding the wall before providing the frescoes. The beauty of our church is largely detracted from by the severity of its east end, and that the provision of an apse behind the chancel would enhance its attractions cannot be denied. It should be both the privilege and the duty of the English residents in Calcutta to see that by the imposition of expensive frescoes at this junction a long desired improvement is not indefinitely delayed. The matter is purely one of bricks and mortar, the land being already there. When any public movement is initiated for adding to the charm and utility of the church it should embrace also the restoration of the organ to the west end (its natural position in a Gothic edifice), the deepening of the transepts, and the placing in suitable prominent positions of the Cornwallis, Warren Hastings and Heber statues.

At the Clive Street corner of Writers' Buildings, almost on the site of the lost church of St. Anne, is a dwarfed, dumpy, octagonal building which few realise contains the Legislative Council Chamber of the Government of the Province. The building is quite a modern one and has no architectural, antiquarian, or historical interest. It does scant justice to a magnificent site and the cost of its demolition and rebuilding would probably soon be recouped by the extra accommodation provided by a taller edifice. Writers' Buildings themselves would be architecturally improved by the provision of a tower at their Clive Street corner, just as was the Palace at Westminster by the erection of the Clock and Victoria Towers. My idea of a "parliament house" worthy of Bengal would be a building architecturally in keeping with the main features of Writers' Buildings but rising at least to the height of the Post Office dome and thus over-topping the pinnacles of the "temples of trade" springing up in the vicinity. Its ground floor would be a spacious vestibule entered directly from the street with noble staircases leading to the Council Chamber and walls frescoed with scenes in the history of the city. Above the chamber, committee and record rooms and, high over all, at the outside summit of the tower the statue of Clive, dominating Clive Street, and well beyond the reach of the malevolence of his detractors.

To the appendix of books about Calcutta should be added

Eden, Hon. Emily.—*Up the Country* : 1837-40. Richard Bently, London. 1866.

Grant, Colesworthy.—*Rural Life in Bengal* ; *Letters from an Artist in India*.
By the author of "*Anglo-Indian Domestic Life*."
Illustrated. W. Thacker, London. 1866.

Parkes, Fanny.—Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque.
2 vols. Illustrated. Pelham Richardson,
London. 1850.

The brochure of which mention is made on page 194 of our first volume is entitled "The Surprise of Calcutta." It purports to be by Ivan Batinshka and gives an account of the bombardment and capture of Calcutta by a Russian Fleet and Army. Calcutta, 1890. The "Sydney C. Grier" of Mr. Cotton's bibliography is Miss Hilda Gregg.

The new edition of "Hartly House" upon which the late Mr. Macfarlane was engaged at the time of his death has been entrusted to Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, and Mr. Firminger is busy upon another edition of Mr. Fay's "original letters from India" (1817). Both works will be published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. In the meanwhile what has become of the concluding volume of the *English in Bengal* which at the time of its learned author's death was, it is understood, almost completed?

WILMOT CORFIELD.



Echoes from Calcutta's Poets' Corner.

An Ode written by Warren Hastings on board the "Berrington" on his voyage from Bengal to England in 1785, addressed to John Shore, Esq. In imitation of Horace, Book II., Ode 16.*

Otium Divos, &c.



FOR ease the harass'd sea-man prays
When equinoctial tempests raise
The Cape's surrounding wave ;
When hanging o'er the reef he hears
The cracking mast, and sees, or fears,
Beneath, his wat'ry grave.

For ease the slow *Mahratta* spoils,
And hardier *Sikh* erratic toils,
While both their ease forego ;
For ease, which neither gold can buy,
Nor robes, nor gems, which oft belie,
The cover'd heart bestow.

For neither gold nor gems combin'd
Can heal the soul or suffering mind,
Lo ! where their owner lies :
Perch'd on his couch distemper breathes,
And care, like smoke in turbid wreathes,
Round the gay ceiling flies.

He who enjoys, nor covets more,
The lands his father held before,
Is of true bliss possess'd.
Let but his mind unfetter'd tread
Far as the paths of knowledge lead,
And wise as well as blest.

* *Note.*—Afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

No fears his peace of mind annoy,
Lest printed lies his fame destroy,
Which labour'd years have won ;
Nor pack'd Committees break his rest,
Nor avarice sends him forth in quest
Of climes beneath the sun.

Short is our span ; then why engage
In schemes for which man's transient age
Was ne'er by fate design'd ?
Why slight the gifts of Nature's hand ?
What wanderer from his native land
E'er left himself behind ?

The restless thought and wayward will,
And discontent attend him still,
Nor quit him while he lives ;
At sea, care follows in the wind ;
At land, it mounts the pad behind,
Or with the post-boy drives.

He who would happy live to-day,
Must laugh the present ills away,
Nor think of woes to come ;
For come they will, or soon or late,
Since mixed at best is man's estate,
By Heaven's eternal doom.

To ripen'd age Clive liv'd renown'd
With lacks enriched, with honors crown'd
His valour's well-earned meed.
Too long, alas ! he liv'd to hate
His envied lot, and died too late,
From life's oppression freed.

An early death was Elliot's doom ;
I saw his opening virtues bloom
And manly sense unfold ;
Too soon to fade, I bade the stone
Record his name, midst hordes unknown
Unknowing what it told.

To thee, perhaps, the Fates may give,—
I wish they may,—in health to live,
Herds, flocks, and fruitful fields ;
Thy vacant hours in mirth to shine :
With these, the muse already thine,
Her present bounties yields.

For me, O Shore, I only claim,
To merit, not to seek for fame,
The good and just to please ;
A state above the fear of want,
Domestic love, Heaven's choicest grant,
Health, leisure, peace, and ease.



Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

I.—PLASSEY, BERHAMPORE, COSSIMBAZAR.

*What of the day? For the day is awake and the cane is awake hard by :
Out and away, for the morn is fair and the ankle-band but frail,—
The young sun calls to the whispering earth and the shrill song'd
amorous sky—*

Out and away, while the dawn is grey, on the track of the long trod trail !

*Mind ye the day when the land loosed flame, and the cane lay red in the
mire,*

*When the scarlet sons of the strong white North belched death to a
turbanned world,*

*And the raddled flanks of our sires ripped wide a roadway of blood
and fire*

*Through the tumbled host? It has come again with the Flag of the North
unfurled.*

*Rede ye the Flag, O ladies and lords, (for the yellowing cane lies wide),
Out from the crags whence the north lands look full front to the listening
sea,*

*Whose ships go down to the amber flood where the great sea-hathis ride,
The eloquent turbulent wave-flung Flag—the Flag of the bold and the free !*

*What of the cord? O brothers and wives. For the cane is atoss in the
breeze,*

And we are elect of the wide wild glebe where the jungle consorts reign.

*The waste hursts call and the winds blow sweet through the scent of the
clamorous trees,—*

Up and afar, where the brave folks are, at the snap of the witless chain !

*Where is the rope that shall stay my start when the sap in the cane calls
loud,*

Or the tether-pale that shall stand the rack of the tug of my naked might?

Out and away, for the day will die in the lap of a sedulous cloud,

*And we shall be free, where the wise ones be, at the dawn of a star-
gemmed night.*



THE arrangements necessary for the excursion to Plassey involved considerable preliminary foresight and work. All concerned lent themselves readily towards effecting the success achieved, but our special thanks are due to Mr. G. Huddleston, C.I.E., the Traffic Manager of the East Indian Railway, who personally facilitated the negotiations with the Eastern Bengal State Railway which procured an excellent special train of first-class carriages and a magnificent dining saloon. Our thanks are also due to Mr. F. D. Kiernander, the courteous Traffic Superintendent of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, for the consideration shown throughout the conduct of the business arrangements. Our gratitude to H. H. the Nawab of Murshidabad, to his Déwan, and his Secretary, requires the most ample acknowledgment.

The Special Time Table, prepared by the Railway authorities, was, with all possible loyalty, adhered to throughout the excursion. Somewhat abbreviated it reads as follows :—

EASTERN BENGAL STATE RAILWAY.

TIME TABLE OF SPECIAL TRAIN FOR THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

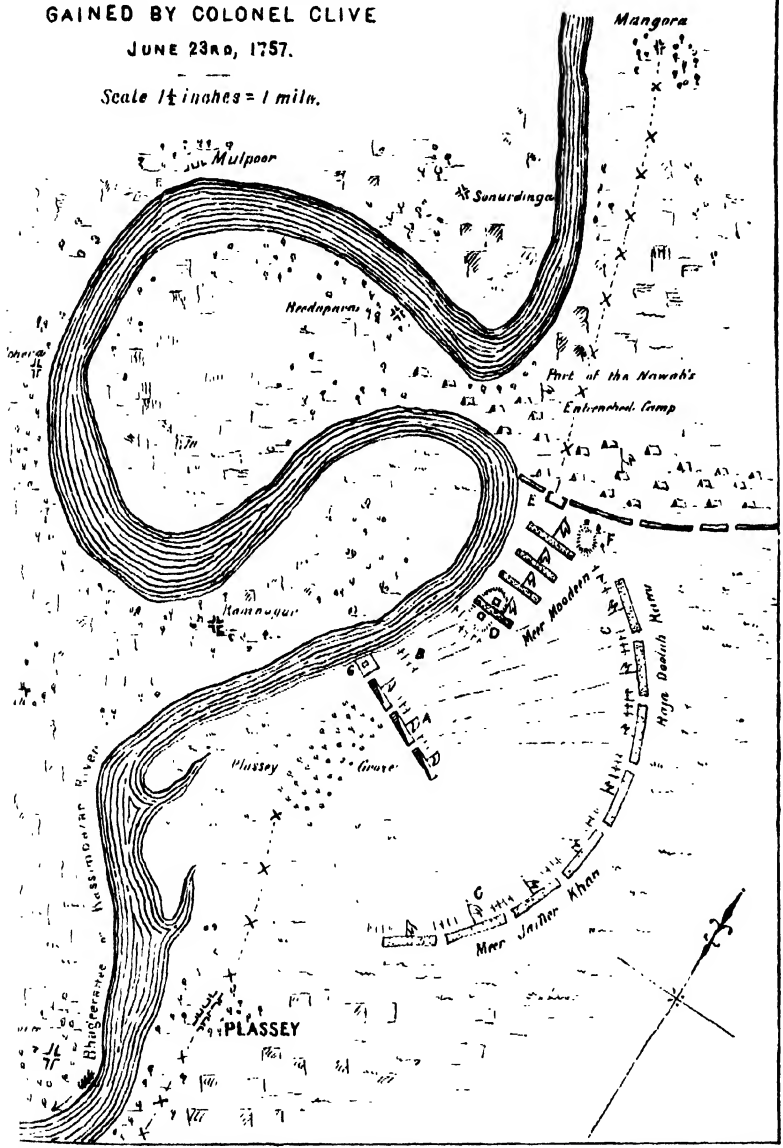
From Calcutta to Cossimbazar and back on Friday, the 13th, and Saturday, the 14th December 1907.

Miles from Calcutta.	Stations.	Standard Time.	Calcutta Time.	REMARKS.
...	Calcutta ... Dep.	H. M. P. M.	11 24	On 14th Dec. 1907.
			A. M.	
21	Naihati ... Arr.	... 18	12 42	
	... Dep.	... 26	12 50	
46	Ranaghat ... Arr.	1 40	2 4	
	... Dep.	1 45	2 9	
94	Plassey ... Arr.	4 45	5 9	
	... Dep.	9 50	10 14	
105	Beldanga ... Arr.	10 13	10 37	
	... Dep.	10 18	10 42	
116	Berhampore Arr.	10 41	11 5	
	Court Dep.	10 46	11 10	
118	Cossimbazar Arr.	10 51	11 15	

BATTLE OF PLASSEY GAINED BY COLONEL CLIVE

JUNE 23RD, 1757.

Scale $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches = 1 mile.



REFERENCE.

POSITION OF THE BRITISH ARMY AT 8 IN THE MORNING.

FOUR GUNS ADVANCED TO CHECK THE FIRE OF THE FRENCH PARTY AT THE TANK D.

THE NAWAB'S ARMY.

TANK FROM WHENCE THE FRENCH PARTY CANNONADED TILL 8 IN THE AFTERNOON WHEN PART OF THE BRITISH ARMY TOOK POS. THERE, AND THE ENEMY RETIRED WITHIN THEIR ENTRENCHED CAMP.

E & F A REDOUBT AND MOUND TAKEN BY AS SAULT AT HALF-PAST 4, AND WHICH COMPLETED THE VICTORY.

G THE NAWAB'S HUNTING HOUSE

THE LINE MARKED X REPRESENTS THE INCURSIONS OF THE RIVER UP TO AT LEAST 1845.

Miles from Cossim- bazar.	Return.					
...	Cossimbazar	Dep.	15	30	3	54
2	Berhampore	Arr.	15	35	3	59
	Court ..	Dep.	15	40	4	4
25	Plassey	... Arr.	16	26	4	50
		Dep.	16	36	5	0
118	Calcutta	... Arr.	19	36	8	0

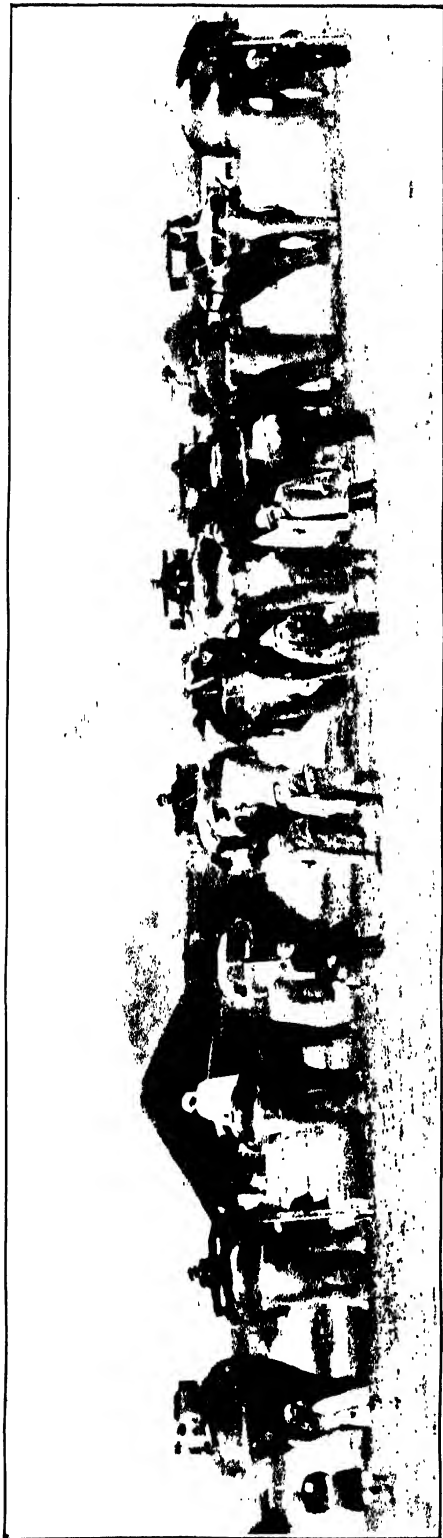
A representative of Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd attended and secured some excellent photographs of the day's proceedings. Messrs. Kellner & Co. supplied the refreshments.

The Hon. Mr. Justice and Mrs. Rampini, both recently back from England, were among the party. Our Editor's "Programme" was on this occasion more than usually useful. It contained a map of the Battle of Plassey, views of the field, and one of the Berhampore Barracks. The present writer does not pretend to give in this place a descriptive account of "Plassey's fight" and readers are referred to Mr. Firminger's brochure for an outline of the main features of the historic conflict.

Sealdah platform, after a late dinner on a cold December night, is not the most inviting meeting-place for a large body of ladies and gentlemen ready for a night's repose: most of us were probably fast asleep long before the train was steaming through Naihati. Plassey was reached about 5 o'clock and our friends, the glittering elephants, drawn up in line close to the station proffered greetings in the chill grey dawn of a glorious morning. His Highness, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, with the help of neighbouring zemindars, had very kindly provided thirteen superb animals for our use. All these magnificent mammoths were suitably caparisoned and furnished with bells whose musical notes added to the unique charm of the occasion. Before our start *Chota Hazri* in the train had fortified us for a three-hours elephant-ride, and the tandem line of "earth shaking" beasts went on its memorable trip so soon as full daylight illuminated the great expanse of picturesque open country. The guide-elephant carried Mr. and Mrs. Firminger and Khan Bahadur Fazl Rubbee, Déwan to the Nawab: and its proud mahout bore aloft the *Nishan* of the Society—henceforward to have the word "Plassey" embroidered on its historic folds. Possibly generations of mahouts yet unborn will tell their children of the great day when a notable ancestor carried the banner of the Sahibs across the mighty plain at the head of a goodly train of *hathis* with more English ladies on their backs than Plassey will probably ever see again. On the second elephant

rode Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, the author of the *Musnud of Murshidabad*, a work with which members of the Calcutta Historical Society should be familiar, for it deals with a district which has played a brave part in the development of India's settled prosperity. The work is ably compiled and is of distinct value coming as it does from the pen of an Indian writer of distinction. The Déwan Sahib, Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, and Mr. Firminger lent themselves as guides to the places visited, and their information and advice proved invaluable as aids to the instruction and enjoyment of the party. Our mounts soon got into their stride, and with swaying bells to the cheery call of the drivers, they forged ahead for the scene of one of the most decisive conflicts that the world has ever known. Jackals fled at our approach, horses, buffaloes, goats and cattle stood and stared, startled for the passing moment by the strange gleaming procession of giant beasts; the villagers, straight, upstanding, gaily clad, country folk, flocked from far and near to wave a smiling welcome, and our peaceful army of invasion carried all before it. At one point, however, matters took a rather nasty turn, for a venerable tusker, whose grandfather might well have borne Clive himself upon its howdah, re-developed inherited instincts with a peculiarity for running down a crowd and did his best, by charging and other censurable conduct, to upset the general suavity of the cavalcade. At first his behaviour was the cause for general laughter—there is usually a comic elephant attached to most well conducted circuses—but, on the discovery becoming general that his intentions were strictly malevolent, his speedy expulsion from the company followed, and it was hailed with the greatest relief, his fellow quadrupeds trumpeting delight at his disappearance into the offing, contesting every step of the way with the keepers.

An inspection of the field of battle followed: it was soon apparent that the whole day might profitably have been spent in the study of the various positions occupied by the contending armies. The river, it is true, has effaced a portion of the ground and the mangoe tope has gone, but it may be said with certainty that the remark often heard that to visit Plassey is merely to take a peep at an uninteresting expanse of mud and water is utterly false. The fact is that the river had again receded, and the time of our visit was beyond all expectation opportune. Points of importance are officially marked by walled-in beacons bearing explanatory notes as to their significance and a handsome (though somewhat dwarfed) monumental pillar (erected and placed there during Sir Rivers Thompson's Lieutenant-Governorship) bears the simple inscription "Plassey erected by the Bengal Government in 1883." Very soon, it is hoped, Lord Curzon's great obelisk will be *in situ* on the mound outside the village. All



CLASS OF 1910. THE MONUMENT IN THE CENTER OF THE SIDE OF THE

the drawings for it were completed before his Lordship left India, and the bronze work has been months ago executed and delivered.

A portion of the tank is still visible in the vicinity of which St. Frai's, the obdurate Frenchmen, with his brave little band of Europeans, planted guns and hurled defiance at the successful capturers of Fort Orleans (Chandernagore), the rude disturbers of France's dream of an Empire in the Orient. The view from the British position is superb. In the immediate foreground facing dummy representations of Clive's cannon are similar representations of St. Frai's artillery. To the east of both the British and French lines could easily be imagined the enormous crescent occupied by the Nawab's army with Mir Jaffar's contingent nearest to the present Plassey railway station, and that of Doolub Ram converging upon the mound immediately behind St. Frai's position, the successful assault of which completed the British victory. Away, behind the mound and to the north, could in the far distance be detected a white flag glittering from some eminence and this, as Mr. Firminger at the top of his stentorial voice tried to tell us, marked the site of the enemy's entrenched camp. Still further north lay Murshidabad for which the stricken rabble made as speedily as possible when the day, June 23, 1757, had been finally lost and won.

The return to the railway station was full of pleasant incident. At one point a field of sugar-cane proved too tempting for our four-footed friends who enjoyed themselves plucking huge bunches to be packed away in their trunks and carried carefully until required for later consumption. Much uneven ground was crossed, and here and there a formidable bund had to be negotiated. An elephant can go down a steep place with both grace and celerity—he merely tucks in his hind legs so that they act as breaks. The writer's mount at one point was a little ahead of the rest and he landed safely on the level at the foot of the far side of a well raised bund. The others followed, eleven, well nigh abreast, and the sight of the great beasts descending, with the shouting mahouts, the laughing riders, the colours of the dresses of the natives and those of the lady members of the party made up as gay an avalanche of movement and merriment as any that could linger in the memory. Here was the moment for a vividly stirring photograph—one of those good things the opportunity for which has gone for ever.

The railway station reached, adieu was bidden to our escort. Breakfast was served (to two parties) *en route*, and the train reached Berhampore according to scheduled time. Here we were met, on alighting, by the courteous representative of the Maharajah of Cossimbazar who had with him an ample assortment of handsome conveyances to conduct us round the neighbourhood, visiting on the way Berhampore, Syedabad, Kalkapur and Cossimbazar. The Collector's house at Berhampore (said to have been

occupied by Clive) was passed and the Cemetery fully inspected. It contains the tombs of Colin Shakespeare, a cousin of W. M. Thackeray, and the usually accepted original of Joseph Sedley of "Vanity Fair" fame; also that of "Little Henry," the precocious original of Mrs. Sherwood's story, *Little Henry and his Native Bearer*, so precious to the religious world of early and mid-Victorian days. The child died in 1807, but his brother, the Rev. Henry Martyn Sherwood, is still living and in charge of a Worcestershire parish. The tomb will shortly be in course of renovation by Government, in response to a representation as to its decaying condition made by the Rev. Canon Cole of Calcutta. Here also lie Henry Creighton, an early authority on Gaur and its ruins; Captain James Skinner (1773), the paternal uncle of the celebrated raiser of "Skinner's Horse," and George Thomas, the Irish commander of the Begum Sumroo's levies, who became Rajah of Haryana and died in 1802 after defeat by one of Perron's French Generals. Thomas' grave bears no inscription, but it was confidently pointed out by a local official and identified by Mr. E. W. Madge, our "Old Mortality," from an old engraving. It is in urgent need of renovation. Our party then drove to the Kunjaghatta Rajbari, where Kumar Debendra Nath Rai kindly received us. A part of the Rajbari was once the house of Nuncomar (more correctly Nanda Kumar), the notorious Brahman and, according to Macaulay, "the blackest monster in human form;" it is a commonplace and more or less dismantled building of no architectural importance but it bears a tablet erected at Lord Curzon's wish; thence, past the site of the French Factory to the Dutch and English cemeteries of Cossimbazar. In the former (at Kalkapur) the oldest monument is dated 1721, but the handsomest, a tall beautiful pillared erection with a cupola pierced by openings, bears no indication as to its origin. There is also a monument to Gregorius Herklots, chief of the settlement and cousin of Gregory Herklots of Chinsurah. In the English enclosure lie the first Mrs. Warren Hastings (previously the wife of Captain John Buchanan) and her infant daughter, and Mrs. Sarah Mattocks, a descendant of John Hampden. The site of the old Residency is close by, marked by a lofty mound from the top of which was viewed a wide and picturesque landscape. Time and the state of the roads did not admit of a visit to the deeply interesting Armenian Church at Syedabad.

Another drive brought into view the gaily decked palace of Manindra Chandra Nandi, Maharaja of Cossimbazar, a descendant of Kantoo Babu, so well known to students of the life of Warren Hastings. The residence has a strikingly handsome exterior and the stately arches of Chay Singh's house, brought piecemeal from Benares, have been built into its fabric. Under these historic arches a sumptuous repast awaited the visitors and



The Carved Arches brought from Cheyt Singh's house at Benares
and erected in the Palace of the Maharajahs of Cossim Bazar,
under which the present Maharajah entertained
the C. H. S.

(Photo kindly supplied by H. H. the Maharajah of Cossim Bazar.)



NUNCUMAK'S HOUSE AT COSSIM BAZAR.
(Photo by S. A. Perris, Esq.)



BERHAMPTON RESIDENCY CEMETERY.
 The cross marks the site of Geo. Thomas' grave.
(Photograph by S. A. Perris, Esq.)

the hospitality of the Maharaja surpassed all bounds. The ladies and gentlemen of the neighbourhood had been invited to meet us, and a most pleasurable "at home" despite our dust-clad garments resulted, the little son and heir of the host making a most favourable impression upon all. Before leaving, the Honorable Mr. Justice Rampini in a most felicitous speech thanked the Maharaja on behalf of the Society for his generous hospitality and the Maharaja replied in appropriate terms. A hearty farewell was accorded to Mr. Mazumdar just before the party left the station at Cossimbazar on its return journey to Calcutta, after which a substantial tea was served in the train.

II. THE JAIN TEMPLE, MANICKTALA.

The new year's operations began on Saturday afternoon, January 4th, with a pleasant and well attended visit to the famous and picturesque Jain Temple at Manicktala, the northern suburb of Calcutta, in or near to which on February 5th, 1757, took place the skirmish (much harder as a fight and far bloodier than Plassey) between Clive and the defenders of Suraj-ud-daula's armed camp.

The visit was made on the invitation of Rai Buddree Das Bahadur, the well-known Jeweller, and his son, Rai Kumar Singh. To the regret of all, however, the former was prevented by indisposition from receiving his guests, but the Rai Kumar Singh conducted the party over the buildings and grounds.

Among those present were the Hon. Sir Francis and Lady Maclean, the Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini, the Tikha Sahib of Nabha, Dewan Fazl Rubbee and Mr. P. C. Mazumdar. The guests were garlanded and several photographs were taken. Those who inspected the shrine itself had to divest themselves of boots or shoes and wear special slippers provided. The visitors, after partaking of light refreshments, adjourned to the drawing-room to hear a few words from Mr. Heera Chand on Jainism and the history of the Temple, after which a vote of thanks to the hosts was passed on the proposal of Mr. J. de Grey Downing. The buildings were subsequently illuminated.

Unfortunately no report was taken of Mr. Heera Chand's interesting lecture but, as it is only right that in this place something should be set on record as to the Jains and their general history, this extract is taken from Mr. Firminger's *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, a book in which the native religious bodies in Calcutta receive much attention.

"Jainism," writes Dr. Hoernle, "is the only one of the almost primæval monastic orders of India which has survived down to the present day, although until quite recent years its very existence before the middle ages was denied by the learned world."

Neither Buddhism nor Jainism are religions in the strict sense of that word. They are rather monastic organisations. The old Brahmanic religion ordained man's life to be spent in four consecutive stages, called Acramas. A man was to commence life as a religious

student, then proceed to be a house-holder, next to go into retirement as an anchorite, and finally to spend the declining years of his life as a wandering Sanyasin or mendicant. These Sanyasins or Brahmanic mendicants form the prototype of the great monastic orders that arose in the six century B.C., the only difference apparently being that the Brahmanic mendicants never formed themselves into such large organisations as the Buddhists and Jains." A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E. *Annual Address to the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1888*.

"It is a still popular error that Buddhism and Jainism originated in a revolt against the Brahmanic caste; but the formation of the non-Brahmanic monastic orders must have been promoted by the tendency of Brahmins to confine the mendicant stage of religious perfection to members of their own caste. On becoming a Jain caste is not renounced, and, in the old times the Jain layman, while choosing a Jain monk as his spiritual director, would have repaid to a Brahmin priest for the performance of religious ceremonies.

"The founder of Jainism was Vardhamana, the son of Siddhartha, the head of a Kshatriya class called the Natas or Nayas who had settled at Kollaja, one of the three remaining portions of the once powerful city of Vesali. The reader who is making no long stay in India will probably be unaware of the fact that the Kshatriyas were the noble caste who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan invaders, but even the average Anglo-Indian does not realise that in the olden time the Brahmins (*i.e.*, the priestly class claiming descent from the families of Rishrus who composed the Vedic hymns), had developed no claim to precedence as a caste. "When," writes Sir W. Hunter, "the Brahmins put forward their claim to the highest rank, the warriors or Kshatriyas were slow to admit it; and when the Brahmins went a step further, and declared that only members of their families could be priests, or gain admission into the priestly caste, the warriors disputed their pretensions. In later ages, the Brahmins having the exclusive keeping of the sacred writings effaced from them, as far as possible, all traces of the struggle." The term "caste" is derived from a Portuguese word and is misleading when applied to conditions of life in India in the days when Buddha preached the doctrine of the threefold noble path.

"Vardhamana or Mahavira was born about 599 and died about 527 B.C. Buddha, his greater rival, lived between 557 and 477 B.C. Both were sons of petty princes, and both commenced their mission amid the Kshatriyas, and both laboured within very much the same geographical area. At the age of thirty Mahavira became a monk, but as he had adopted absolute nudity as an essential practice in the saving faith, he parted from the monastic home of his clan and wandered through North and South Bihar. After many years of preaching, he was at length acknowledged as Mahavira the "Great Hero" and Jina "the spiritual conqueror." Hence the name Jain in company with the Buddhists, the Jains reject the Vedas of Brahminism. It is their belief that by unremitting discipline holy men can be perfected as was their founder, into Jinas or spiritual conquerors. Time for them proceeds from two eternally recurring cycles of immeasurable duration—an "ascending" and a "descending" cycle, each being broken up into six stages of bad-bad, bad, bad-good, good-bad, good, good-good. At present (or at least until quite recently), we are in the bad stage, although even in this stage twenty-four Jinas have been deified. The world is formed of eternal atoms and includes various hells and heavens. The principal ethical maxims are: 1. Do not kill or injure. 2. Do not tell lies. 3. Steal not. 4. Be chaste and temperate. 5. Desire nothing immoderately. The Buddhists, as keen missionaries, prize "three jewels"—the Buddha, the law and the order: the Jains more contemplative and inert, seek likewise three jewels—right faith, right cognition, right conduct. The Jain layman participates in the spiritual benefits emanating from the monastic order: the Buddhist layman is not in communion with the monastic body, and in fact may also attach



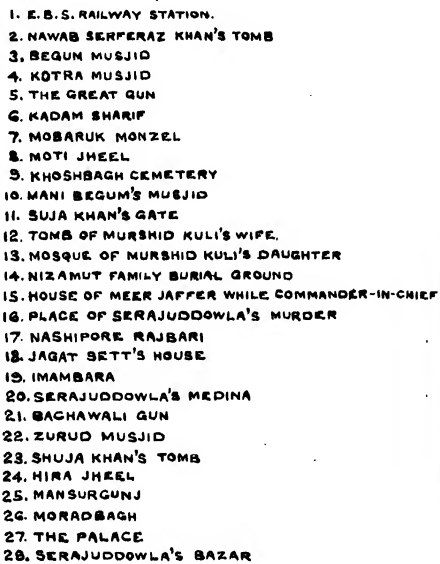
THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF SURAI-UD-DULA:
ASSASSINATION.

(*Photograph by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann.*)



AT THE JALFARGANJ PALACE.

CHIEF PLACES OF INTEREST.



himself to other organisations without losing what the Buddhist order has to offer. It is not hard to see that here we have one of the causes of the survival of Jainism and the disappearance of Buddhism in the motherland of the two systems. When the Mohamedan conquest burst over India, the Buddhist monasteries already thinned out under Brahmanic pressure disappeared, and the monks once gone, lay Buddhism remained very much as in *Alice in Wonderland* the Cheshire Cat's smile remained after the departure of the Cheshire Cat. An account of "caricatured survivals of Buddhism in Bengal" by the learned Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895.

"It only remains to be said on the score of Jainism in the abstract that the founder's practice of absolute nudity which about 82 A.D. led to a great schism between the "White clothed" and the "shyad" or unclothed monks, and is now honoured in the breach rather than the observance thereof. The two sects of Jains exist, but their differences chiefly concern the clothing or absence of clothing on images, the number of heavens, etc."

The Temple has often been described, but a few words may not be uninteresting to those who have not as yet visited it. Branching off on Upper Circular Road, in an easterly direction, runs a street which takes its name from the Temple and conducts the visitor to a fine gateway. The shrine itself, in the Jain style of architecture, is dedicated to Sital Nathjee, the tenth of the *Trithankaras*, or Jain prophets. A flight of marble steps leads up to the Temple, the most beautiful in Calcutta, round three sides of which runs a verandah. The interior of the building is profusely ornamented, the mosaic decoration as well as the glass and stone work being specially noticeable. A chandelier with a hundred and eight branches embellishes the sanctuary. Cleanliness reigns everywhere.

There is also an elegantly furnished parlour, as well as reception-rooms, guest-houses, and other accommodation. No description of the place would, however, be complete without some mention of the delightful grounds. In addition to the usual features of well-kept gardens there stands in the centre an artistic fountain, while around are interspersed garden benches and statuary.

Apart from testifying to the wealth of the Jain community, which would surely have abundant reason to feel proud of these palaces of glittering sunshine, the building (with its surroundings) is a standing monument to the good taste of the venerable and charitable founder, who built it about forty-one years ago.

III.—MURSHIDABAD.

*All the troubled town of Murshed—
(Where Bhagirath's sounding gong
Chariot borne and blest of Brahma
Drew the cleansing streams along)—
All the waiting walls of Murshed
Saw him thread the startled throng.*

*Every shouter of the azan
From the minarets on high
Knew the blind and voiceless rider,
Saw the hathi shamle by,
Heard an earless fakir's laughter,
Heard the broken mother's cry.*

*Shrill the chant and veiled the weepers
While the women fringed the roof,
Clenched the fist and hard the visage
Where the warriors looked aloof,
As the burdened beast strode onward,—
Crimson—tusk and hide and hoof.*

*See him masquerade as monarch
Selled above in sloven state,
Past the Burags peacocked splendour,
Past the Imambara Gate,
Heedless of the Rani's daughter
As of winsome Faizi's fate.*

*Where below the river wanders
Still they head the plodding van,
Foot the ford and mount majestic—
Mammoth monster, mangled man,—
To the Khoshbagh's marbled silence,—
To the side of Verdi Khan.*

*All the ruffled hold of Murshed
Drummed and droned in cadence meet,
Decked him with the Meccan tusbi,
Wrapt the scented winding sheet,
Piled the earth of sweet Kerbella
Gently at his head and feet.*

*Back from sleep to life and laughter,
Leave the trellised garden height,
Through the streets the English cannon
Rumble in from Plassey's fight—
For the nishan of the Northland
Drapes the musnud of to-night.*



ROAD LEADING TO KHETRA MUSJID, MURSHIDABAD.
(*Photo by A. de Cossan, Esq.*)



"THE WORLD'S DESTROYER."
(*Photo by A. de Cossan, Esq.*)

*Set the World's Destroyer talking,
Let the bell bulged belfries reel,
Be it known that kingly Juffar
Lords beside the Moti Jhil,—
While the Lake of Pearls reflecteth
Burnished blades of English steel.*

*Every age is as the ages,
Every life a turn at chess,
And the Master of the Tourney
Moveth all, without redress,—
Rajah, rook and pawn and camel,
As he listeth through the press.*

*Hear the creed the hathi trolleth—
Mothers' tears are ever wet,
Fakirs' laughter ceaseless echoes
To the dazed bazar's upset,
'Tis our lesser sins undo us,—
Earless fakirs ne'er forget.*

*In the gambit lists of Being
On Life's peopled chequer-deck—
'Ware the queen, the horse, the bishop,
Would ye ward an after wreck;
Yet remember laughing fakirs—
For a pawn may give the check.*

*Sleep is peace and death is living,
(Though the world in discord fret)—
There within the portals folded
Mercy pleads with Justice yet;—
As of old a sworded Angel
At the wardened gate is set.*

*Mercy kneels with praying pinions,
And the guard keeps flaming ward
Till the shining choir proclaimeth
All the judgment of the Lord—
To the moving hinges' music
When the scabbard eats the sword.*

*Still the lofty line of Jaffar
Lifts the northern nishan high
(Where the broken mother staggered
While the dreadful dead went by)
In the crumbled courts of Murshed
Where the Lake of Pearls is dry.—DÂK.*

Murshidabad is, next to Calcutta, the most fascinating city in Bengal for the historian. The cradle of British rule in the province and associated with some of the most stirring events in the story of India, it is necessarily full of the liveliest interest for antiquarians and sightseers. It was in 1710 that Murshed Kuli Khan, a converted Brahmin, Déwan of Bengai, removed his capital there from Dacca. The name of the place was originally Muksudabad (or Muxadabad) and according to the old geographer, Tieffenthaler, it was founded by Akbar. The main industries are silk and ivory-carving.

The Society's Excursion on Friday and Saturday, the 31st January and 1st February, was as successful as that to Plassey and its neighbourhood. The special train left Sealdah a little earlier and returned a little later than its predecessor : scarcely a berth was empty and extra accommodation for late applicants had unfortunately to be refused. Mr. Justice Rampini was among the large number travelling, and Mr. P. C. Mazumdar and Déwan Fazi Rabbee again acted as guides, while Mr. Firminger's special handbook and Mr. Mazumdar's *The Musnud of Murshidabad* proved of very real value to the expedition. For an entertaining article in this connection the reader is also referred to the *Calcutta Review* for April 1892, containing "Old Places in Murshidabad" from the pen of Mr. H. Beveridge. The most ambitious work on the subject, however, is Lieutenant-Colonel Walsh's *History of the Murshidabad District*. Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann and others did good work with the camera, and Messrs. Kellner & Co. were caterers.

A little timely rain at daybreak served to lay the dust. After *chota hazri* in the train, the party proceeded in carriages provided by His Highness the Nawab Bahadur to visit the historical places of interest in and near the city. It was soon evident that the greatest care had been taken in advance to add to the pleasure of the day, placards were posted along the line of route indicating the buildings and positions to be noted, here and there special arches were erected to welcome the Nawab's guests, and no trouble was spared to render the excursion a memorable one in the annals of the Society.

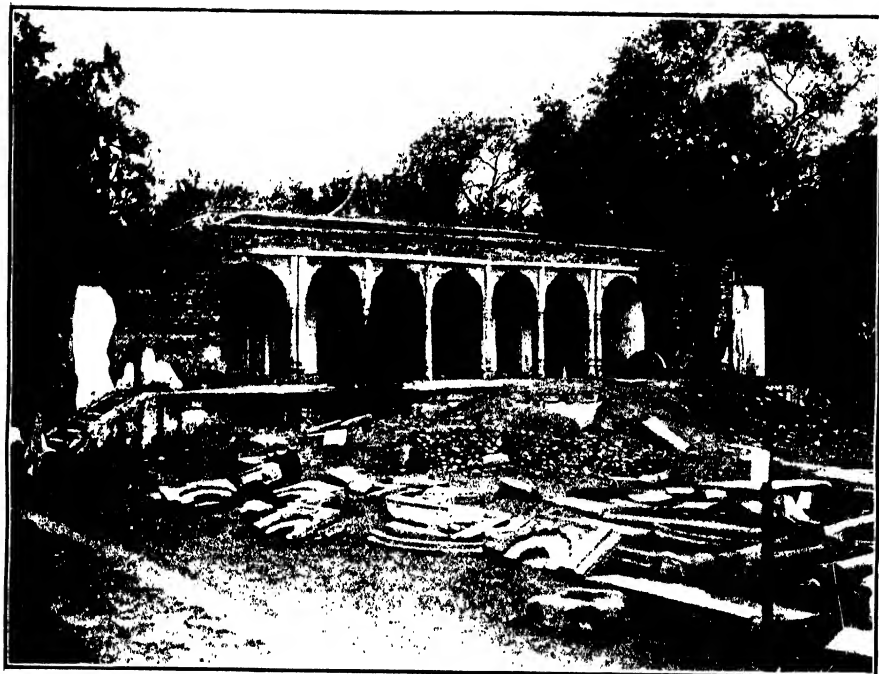
The impressive Khatra Musjed, built by Murshed Kuli Khan in 1723, was first visited. There is a coloured view of it in Hodges' *Select Views in*



AT MURSHIDABAD.
(Photo by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.)



CROSSING THE BAHIGIRATI.
(Photo by Messrs. Tivona and Sifton.)



KRISH CHAUD'S TEMPLE adjoining the site
of the house of the Jagat Seths. The carved
stones in the foreground are from Gaur.



TOMBS OF THE NAWABS NAZIM
OF MURSHIDABAD.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman.)

India. It is the ruined mausoleum of the founder of the city, the earthquake of 1897 having played havoc with what had been previously standing of a vast structure. It is said to have at one time held two storeyed cells for 700 Karis or Koran readers. The tomb of the founder, who is buried under stairs leading up to the terrace of the mosque, is alone kept in repair and a kari was seen reading the Koran there. Thence to the Artillery Park containing the great gun called Jahan Kosha (the destroyer of the world) made in Dacca in 1637. It originally rested on a wheeled carriage, but is now embedded in a *peepul* tree which has lifted it *en masse* some four feet from the ground. The muzzle commands the whole length of the Katra jheel. The mosque of Itwar Ali Khan, Jaffar's Nawab Nazir, or chief eunuch, is known as Kadam Sharif and contains a stone removed from Gour bearing an impression of the foot of the Prophet of Arabia. The Mobarak Manzil was built for the East India Company and courts were held there from 1765 to 1781, when they were removed to Calcutta. On the terrace in front stood the throne of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal and upon it Clive placed Jaffar at Mansurganj after Plassey and himself sat on it side by side with Najmuddowla at the Moti Jheel in 1766. It is now in the Victoria Hall Collection in Calcutta. The Moti Jheel or Lake of Pearls occupies part of a deserted bed of the Bhagirathi. Shahamat Jang built there a sangidalan or stone hall, a mehalsara or harem, and a mosque. He lived there with his wife Ghasiti Begum, the daughter of Ali Verdi Khan, and after his death Suraj-ud-daula captured it from the Begum and may have marched thence to the battlefield of Plassey. Near by is a Baraduary or house with twelve doors built by Mir Jaffar. Clive and Warren Hastings, Carnac, Sir John Shore, and other great Englishmen are closely associated in history with this delightful spot. The only building extant of Shahamat Jang's days is a moss grown doorless chamber 65 feet long, 23 broad and 12 high said to contain enormous treasure. No one dares, however, to break open this masonry box as a curse is supposed to be upon any would-be disturber of its contents. It is said that at dead of night and on particular occasions an aerial procession, visible only to the fortunate few, starts from the tomb of Shahamat Jang at the Moti Jheel and proceeds to that of Mahabat Jang at the Khoshbagh, three miles away on the other side of the river. The Calcutta Historical Society, however, visited the Khoshbagh under less romantic circumstances (being still in an age when the air-ship is but in its infancy) and reached the further shore with the aid of the handiwork of Dykes and Steuart, some elephants and a barge or two. It was a fine drive and all were really pleased to renew acquaintance with several old friends from Plassey (accompanied by others) and to experience once again the charm of an elephant ride. On this occasion there were hardly enough elephants to go round, but the actual water crossed was comparatively narrow and a

goodly array of horses ready saddled and bridled, added picturesque effect to our cavalcade's ascent to Amaniganj and the family cemetery of Ali Verdi Khan. There sleeps Ali Verdi Khan, the large hearted, on the whole a friend of the English, and of whom it is said that he was perhaps the only prince in the east whom none of his subjects wished to assassinate. There also rests Suraj-ud-daula, the potentate who, after the fatigue of a busy and somewhat disappointing day in Calcutta, forgot all about the disposal of the brave defenders of the river-hold whose privacy he had violated and went to sleep and left them to the mercies of a heartless soldiery. Let us think of him, not as an active accomplice of wholesale murder, but as the ruler who, on returning to Murshidabad after the tragedy of Old Fort William, on meeting Holwell and his compatriots led in chains along the streets of the capital, noticed them from the opening of his palanquin and at once ordered their release. The Khoshbagh contains other family tombs of the dead dynasty. To leave it is to possess a restful sense of the sweet abiding unimportance of the things of this world.

Farewell to the elephants and breakfast followed. The former once again on the near side of the river, and the latter in a spacious shamiana in the railway station compound. And after lunch more getting in-and-out of carriages, more miles and miles of history writ in the ragged diminutive bricks of a former age of architecture, more tombs, and broken gateways, and even and always more pleasurable experiences of satisfied enlightened curiosity.

First to the Nizamat Cemetery within an enclosure at Jaffarganj, the burial place of Mir Jaffar and the Nawabs Nazim to Humayun Jah. The last of the Nawab Nazims, Syud Mansur Ali Khan (Feredun Jah) slept here for a time. He died on November 5, 1884, and his remains were ultimately removed to Kerbella in Arabia. The Begums' enclosures are walled-off from the cemetery proper. Close by is the Deori, the residence of Mir Jaffar when Commander-in-Chief of the Suba. The audience hall is now an Imambara. Here took place the last secret conference before Plassey between Watts, the Company's chief factor at Cossimbazar, Mir Jaffar, and the latter's son, Miran. Watts arrived in a palanquin disguised as a purdah nasheen lady of the harem and was received in one of the apartments of the seraglio. Had there been no Watts, there would have been no Plassey.

Authorities are not agreed as to the exact spot of Suraj-ud-daula's murder. The most authentic accounts, however, place it in the compound of the Deori a remote portion of which was pointed out as the actual scene of the occurrence by Shahzada Faiz Ali Khan, a descendant of Mir Jaffar, in person. The dead prince was paraded through the streets past his mother's house and then borne across the river for interment at Khoshbagh. Among his acts of



GRAVES OF THE NAWABS NAZIM,
JAFFARGANJ CEMETERY, MURSHIDABAD.
(*Photograph by A. deCossan, Esq.*)



IN THE JAFFARGANI PALACE.
(The Author and the artist in front of Mrs. Miran.)



PORTION OF THE JAFFARGANI PALACE.
(Photograph by Messrs. Johnstone and Hoffman.)

private iniquity are related attempts to secure Tara, the widowed daughter of the Rani Bowhani, and the walling up alive of Faizi, a dancing girl of exquisite beauty. On fleeing to Rajmahal with his wife and favourite women after Plassey he was recognized by a fakir whose ears and nose he had caused to be cut off, and, on betrayal, seized and taken back to his capital.

The ruins of Jagat Sett's house at Mahimapore include the remains of an old mint supposed to have been established in or about the year 1727. On entering the enclosure are seen blocks of granite marble in the form of columns and arches of a Jain Temple dating from about 1570 which it is understood were desired by Lord Curzon for the Victoria Memorial.

There is also a Hindu Temple adorned with porcelain tiles built about the year 1801, a greater portion of which collapsed during the earthquake of 1897. Over the temple is an inscription in Sanskrit of which the English rendering is as follows :—

“There was in the family of the Jagat Setts, a scion, named Sumer Chand, son of Mahtab Rao, who was famous throughout the world and possessed wealth surpassing that of Kuvera (the god of riches). His son Huruck Chand was known for his great piety and excellence. He became the disciple of Ramana Das, an ascetic of the Vaishnava sect, who had come from the Vindhya-chal and whose virtues shone resplendent like the moon. He consecrated this temple to the god Hari as a token of his gratitude for his preceptor in the year 1857, Samvat (corresponding to 1801 A.D.). May increased prayers be offered to the god at this place. Dated Monday, the fifth after the full moon in the month of Magh of the Samvat year 1857.

The Council Hall and the Imperial Bank (Shahnashin, the seat of the Emperor), built in or about the year 1720 A.D., a mound of earth overgrown with vegetation containing a reservoir and fountain with sides of granite marble, is situated west of the Hindu temple. It was there that Lord Clive had a conference with the leading men of the time to dethrone Suraj-ud-daula. And there in the presence of Clive, Watts and Scrafton, Omichand was undeceived and told that the “red paper” was a “trick.” The fabulous wealth of the Sett family was plundered by the Mahrattas under Bhaskar Pundit at the time of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan. In 1763 the Setts were taken to Monghyr and there flung into the river from the bastions of the fortress.

The old family dwelling house is in ruins and is supposed to have been the oldest building in the city. At the present house the visitors were shown a large and interesting collection of documents, jewels, and coins. By “Jagat Setts” is meant the “Bankers of the World,”

The Firman of the Emperor Mahaumad Nasiruddin Abul Fath Badshah-i-Gazi, conferring the title of "Jagat Sett" as an hereditary distinction on Fattah Chand, in the fourth year of his reign is as follows:—

Mahammad
Jahan Shah Bahadur Badshah-i-
Gazi, son of Saheb Qiran II. Abul
Fath Nasiruddin, son of Shah Alam
son of Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan,
son of Jahangir, son of Akbar, son o
Humayan, son of Babar, son of Omar
Shaik Shah, son of Sultan Abul Syed
Shah, son of Sultan Mohammed
Shah, son of Miran Shah, son o
Amir Timur Saheb Qiran.
1133 Higiri

During this victorious time and propitious moment, this imperial order to be obeyed by all the world and appearing like the rays of the Sun is hereby proclaimed and notified as follows:—

"That Seth Futtah Chand, son of Seth Manik Chand deceased is honoured with the present of the title of "Jagat Seth" and with the bestowal of a robe of honour, pearl necklace and small ear-rings and the command of five thousand horses and with caparisoned elephants as a mark of our imperial favour, and becomes thus dignified and exalted."

"It is therefore enjoined upon all Governors, officers, and Jagirdars present and future, in our Empire, that the aforementioned Seth be henceforth styled and addressed 'Jagat Seth,' and this order is to be strictly obeyed and considered urgent. Dated, 12th Rajab, in the fourth year of our glorious reign."

On the other side is the seal of the Prime Minister followed by the endorsements of subordinate officials.

The Killah Nizamut commands a charming landscape—fort, palace, Imambara and Madina with other buildings being within its confines. The Madina consists of the central dome only of Suraj-ud-daula's former famous Imambara—burnt down during a display of fireworks. An enormous gun, "the Bachawali tope," made between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, is a conspicuous object in the open space fronting the palace. The Imambara is superb, its chandeliers stand unrivalled in the East. At two of the corners are Burags, or "Bright Ones," being representations



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of the animal with a human face and a peacock's tail on which the Prophet ascended to heaven. Sabres, shields, lances, banners, daggers and feathers decorate the structure. At the time of the visit preparations for the approaching Mohurrum were well advanced and the visitors were able to form some conception of the magnificent spectacular ceremonies in which the faithful were about to indulge. A clock tower, the "Big Ben of Murshidabad," graces the Palace grounds.

The Palace of the Nawab Bahadur recalls Government House at Calcutta. It is in the Italian style of architecture and Colonel Duncan McLeod of the Bengal Engineers was the architect. The foundation-stone was laid in 1829, in the presence of the Agent to the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, by His Highness the Nawab Humayun Jah, and completed in 1837 during the administration of Lord Auckland. It is crowned by a dome and consists of three storeys. On the ground floor are located the toshakhana, the armoury, the offices and the record rooms. On the first are the Durbar, or throne room, the drawing-room, the banqueting-hall, the billiard rooms, chambers and boudoir. The second (or topmost) storey contains the ball-room, library, sleeping apartments, etc. As may be imagined, the palace is magnificently furnished and to thoroughly examine its wealth of treasures, its jewels, pictures, books, china-ware and arms would take days. The library is open to the public. Its main feature is its collection of copies of the Koran, some of which are of priceless value. Among the documents of interest are the Treaty of 1763, bearing the signatures of Mir Kasim, Vansittart and Warren Hastings; and those of 1765 and 1770 with the autographs of Najum-ud-daula and the members of the Council at Calcutta. The signatures of Clive, Carnac and Sykes appear on the Agreement of 1765. There may also be seen letters from Lord William Bentinck, Lord Amherst, Lord Auckland, King William IV. and Queen Victoria.

Many of the most interesting objects belonging to the Armoury have been lent for the Victoria Memorial Hall collection. The numerous state jewels deposited in the toshakhana are, many of them, of very great value and are further enriched by the historic associations of the past. Some of them may be recognised in the portraits of the Nizams in the "Family Gallery." On this occasion the jewels were specially placed on view for the inspection of the visitors, but unfortunately there was no time left in which to admire them. By way of Suraj-ud-Daula's Bazar, the Murshidabad railway station was reached. Of this bazar it is said that it occupies the site of a large pit the repository of unwholesome matter, and that by Suraj-ud-daula's command the pit was filled up and converted into a bazar or marketplace in a single night.

Afternoon tea was served in the train on the downward journey.

It is to be regretted that time did not permit of a visit to other places of interest across the river visible from the palace grounds. Among them Shuja Khan's tomb and Muradbagh, Clive's residence after Plassey, where Vansittart removed Mir Jaffar from his position of Subadar of Bengal. After Plassey, too, it was from the Mansurganj Palace that Suraj-ud-daula fled and Mir Jaffar was placed on the throne by Clive. It used to be surrounded by an artificial canal still known as the Heera Jhil or "Lake of Diamonds." Here lay the famous treasure vaults entered by Clive and his officers referred to in the familiar magnificent passage in his statement to the Chairman of a Committee of the House of Commons:—

"Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey had placed me. A great prince was dependent on my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and jewels! Mr. Chairman, at this moment, I stand astonished at my own moderation."

But with the exception of a few broken walls and foundations the Bhagirati has washed everything away.

The father of the present Nawab was Ali Kadar Bahadur, who for many years previous to his death bore the burden of ill-health with touching nobility. "He was," writes Mr. P. C. Mazumdar, "seventh from Mir Jaffar, Nawab Nazim of Bengal, ninth from Syud Hussan Najafi, chief of Najaf in Arabia; twenty-eighth from Ahmed, entitled Nasiruddin Alla, Ruler of Yemen (315 A.H.); thirty-fifth from Imam Hussan; thirty-sixth from Ali, the Amir-ul-Momin and Fatema, the Prophet's daughter; thirty-seventh from Mahomed, the Prophet of Arabia; thirty-ninth from Abdul Mottaleb, head of the Koresh Tribe and chief of Mecca; sixty-third from Ismail and sixty-fourth from Abraham of the Old Testament of whom in verse 6 Chapter XVII. of the book of Genesis it is said "and Kings shall come out of thee." Thence back, through Terah, Shem, Noah, Lamech, Methuselah, Enoch, and Seth to "the grand old gardener and his wife" is a matter of easy computation.

At the individual invitation of H. H. the Nawab Bahadur Amir-ul-Omrah, the guests were entertained at a sumptuous lunch in the great banquetting hall of the palace: prior to which each member of the party had been personally introduced to His Highness. His Highness' brother, the Prince Nazir-Ali-Mirza, his uncles, the Princes Wallah-Kadir and Asmah-Kadir, and other members of the family also honoured the company with their presence. The State Band enlivened the proceedings. After lunch, the Hon. Mr. Justice Rampini, in a speech admirably suited to the occasion, returned thanks to His Highness for his princely hospitality. He

referred to the period over forty years ago, when, at the beginning of his service, he had been stationed at Murshidabad, and said he had been privileged to enjoy the lavish hospitality of its Nawab for three generations. The references to the Nawab were received with acclamation, and His Highness, having replied to the toast, three very cordial cheers were given for him.

The speech of the Nawab Bahadur was as follows :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is impossible for me to express in words the great pleasure your visit to the Palace has afforded me. You constitute a society, the objects of which are deserving of all praise and deserve the sympathy of all. No one can but admire the trouble, discomfort and inconvenience you put yourselves to by undertaking excursions like these. The cause of history, and more directly, the cause of the conservation of ancient monuments will be well served by your endeavours, for by these you attempt to find out not only what deserves commemoration, but in a way bring to the notice of the authorities their responsibilities in this direction. Who knows how many monuments of historical value would not have been saved from ruin and oblivion if your society had been started a century earlier? You are therefore not a day too early. The country which is rich in historic memories will be grateful for what you have done in the past, and what you propose to do in the future. Already the first fruits of your labours are visible in the attention that is being given to certain monuments. Most of you have marked the improvement that has been effected in the cemeteries of Calcutta, and there can be little doubt that it is owing to your exertions in the matter that the neglect of years is beginning to be remedied.

Speaking of the old city of Murshidabad, I think I can reasonably say that as the place where the British Empire in the East started into being it deserves the respect and attention of all persons, much more of those who have the honor of being members of a society like yours. You have before this read of its past and you have to-day seen of its present, and I am afraid you have come to the conclusion that the cradle of British rule in the East deserves more attention and more scrutiny than you have been able to spare and bestow by a few hours' sojourn among its ruins.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the history and the traditions of the past have not a value for every observer. To the historian and the lover of antiquity, the mouldering heaps of the foundation walls of the Sangidalan and Emtazmahal, the silted bed of the Lake of Pearls and remains of the channel of the Lake of Diamonds are of more absorbing interest than the triumphs of modern architectural and engineering skill. To the curious students of history the signatures of Clive and Warren Hasting, of Vansittart and Watts, have more charm than heaps of modern manuscripts. Yet they are less than

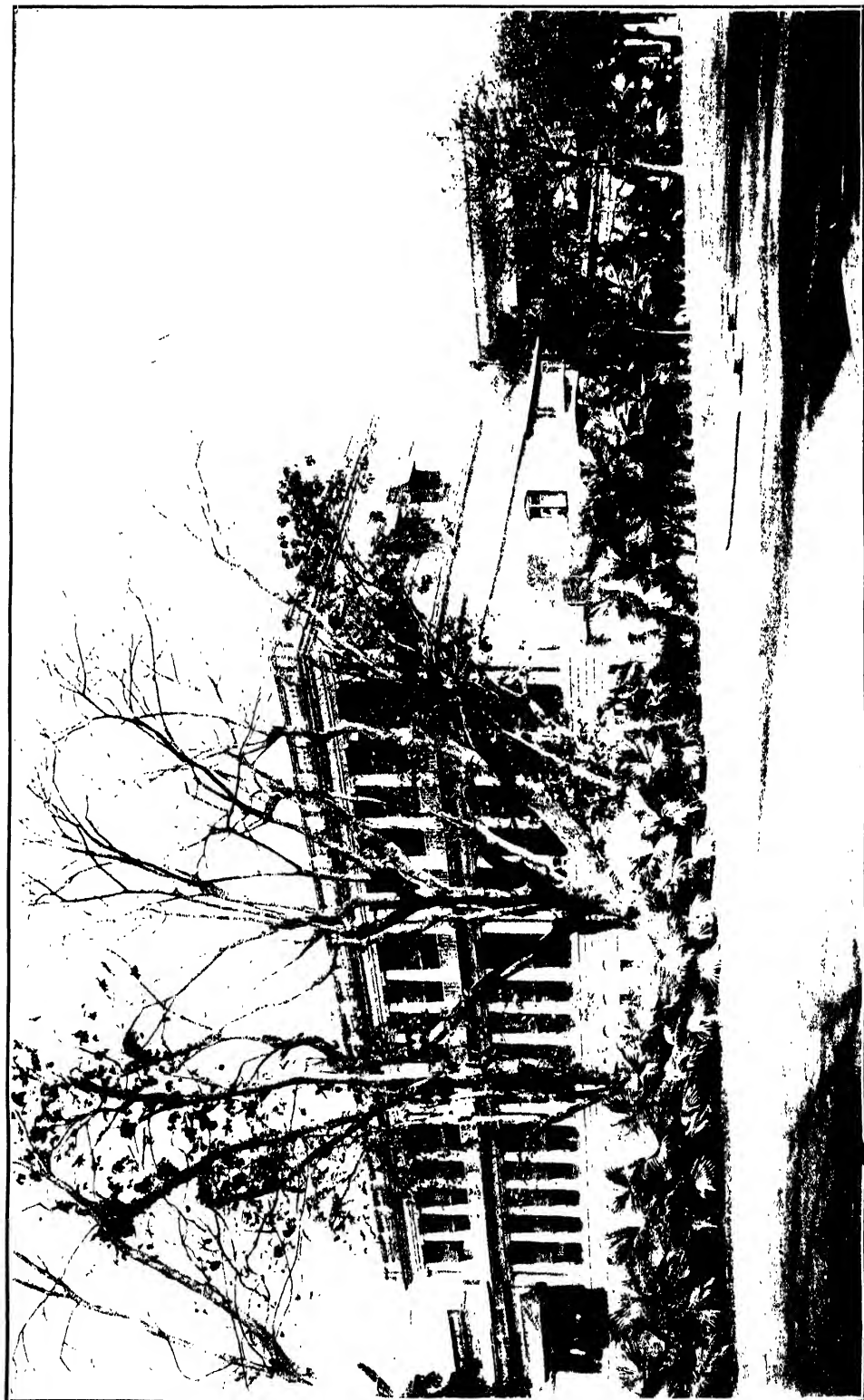
two hundred years old. We cannot claim for any relic or monument in Murshidabad that antiquity which perhaps gives similar objects their value elsewhere. There are few interested in the History of British rule in India who would not desire to visit the exact place where Clive representing the Dewan Company and sitting on the same Musnad with Najmudawla as Nazim performed the celebrated Punneah at Moti Jheel. The site of the Palace in which Clive after his entry into the city lived, and which has been described as big enough to accommodate three European monarchs, strikes one in its present deplorable condition of its faded importance. In your sojourn this morning you have trodden on historic ground. You have seen the grave where repose the remains of the greatest ally of Great Britain—for that is the verdict which history has passed upon my great predecessor, Mir Jaffar. His successors now silenced in death repose by his side. His direct descendant—only seventh from him—my late lamented and revered father is among them. The great Mani Begum—better known as the Mother-O'-Company—lies there buried in her secluded gave. What a graveyard of buried greatness you have visited this morning! You will have observed that although the sunlight of former days is over and its glory vanished, there is I thank God a faint crescent still visible through the unsurpassed and unparalleled generosity of the British Government.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no doubt by your visit the historical interest of the city will be revived and that the ravages of time responsible for the ruins around you will be checked as best they can and that the memories of the past will be preserved in future.

Lastly I must return my thanks to you all for the kindness with which you have accepted my invitation and for the very flattering words in which my valued friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rampini, has spoken of what little I did to facilitate your visit to the several places and objects of interest in Murshidabad. I wish your association all success and prosperity and shall always watch its work with the greatest interest. In conclusion I also thank you for the honour you have done me by electing me a patron of your society.

W. C.





Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



OME thirty-five years ago Mr. E. Lethbridge contributed to the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. LIV.) a most important article on the mofussil Records of Bengal. By the kindness of the Proprietor of that *Review*, Mr. C. J. A. Pritchard, I am permitted to make liberal extracts from this rich mine of historical information.

CHITTAGONG.—“We learn that at Chittagong original documents are still surviving which date from the time of Clive's first administration, A.D. 1760—only three years after Plassey. Such a series as this of Chittagong, extending over considerably more than a century, must obviously contain an immense amount of interesting information; but we can only give a few samples, almost at haphazard. In the year 1771, the year preceding the advent of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal, we get a voluminous letter of twenty-one foolscap pages from the Commissioner to the Commissioners of Revenue on the revenues of the division. In 1774, when our histories are mainly concerned with the affairs of Cheyt Singh of Benares and with the squabbles of the newly-appointed Governor-General and his Council at Calcutta, we get an interesting letter from Warren Hastings to the ‘Chief of Chandernagore’ on the subject of slavery. In 1777 there is one of even greater importance—when we remember that the history of the Arakán frontier and the depopulation of the Sunderbuns is the *opprobrium historicum* of Bengal, and that this letter can hardly be found in duplicate—from Captain Ellerker to the Chief of Chittagong about certain invasions of the Mughls. Later in the same year, Warren Hastings writes to the same official for information about Burmah; early in 1790, we find a guard ordered for Moheskally ‘on account of the Burmese;’ and again in April 1791, there is a letter from the Board to the Collector of Chittagong regarding the disturbances by Burmese in the south of the district. In 1789 there is an important petition from the zemindars of Sandwipa; in 1790 a memorial from the zemindars and talukdars of Chittagong; and later in the same year, an important series of petitions, extending over twenty-five pages of foolscap and containing a large amount of interesting information, relative to the malpractices of the Diwán. Letters about the French in Chittagong; bills for ‘dieting people sent by the King of Ava’, and documents about police, embankments, waste lands, háuts, ‘cases of

alluviation and decrease in lands,' salt, cotton, and indeed every possible detail connected with revenue, commerce, agriculture, and the administration generally—are to be found in this treasure-house of antiquities, only awaiting an intelligent examination and selection."

HUGHLI.—"Most of the official documents of the Danish Settlement of Chinsurah and of the Danish settlement of Frederiksnagar or Serampur, were deposited at Hughli at the time when those territories passed respectively under the British Rule. The Dutch have always been conspicuous, even amongst European nations, for the scientific care bestowed on their archives; and the records of the Netherlands India preserved at Chinsurah were worthy of that reputation. We regret, however, to find (from a paper read before the Asiatic Society and published in its *Proceedings* in April 1871) that most of those which possessed any historical and scientific value were, in 1853, handed over bodily, and without even any proposal to retain copies of them in this country, by the Government of India to the Government of the Netherlands India for transmission to the Hague. The extraordinary historical interest of these documents may be seen from the list, which is printed *in extenso* in the *Proceedings*. They contained a complete series of the *Minutes* of the Governors of Chinsurah from 1674; which as Mr. Torrens (who was Judge of Hughli at the time of transfer) stated 'most undoubtedly, I think, have been of some very considerable historical importance.' The other sets of documents were numbered from 1 to 66; we will quote a few of the numbers.

"No. 3 contained copies of 'grants respecting lands at Pipeley and Balasore, in 1676.'

"No. 4 contained documents respecting the 'acquisition of lands at Baranagore' by the Dutch in 1680.

"No. 6 contained two Perwanas under the seal of Vizier Sadoolah Khan respecting a house at Patna.

"No. 8 was a packet containing documents respecting the transfer of some premises at Dacca from the French authorities to the Dutch in 1674. This is almost certainly the earliest mention on record of the French being settled in Bengal; the India House Records calendared by Mr. Bruce in the *Annals of the East India Company* only mention the arrival of the first French Fleet under Admiral De La Haye in the Bay of Bengal in 1673; Stewart in his *History of Bengal* says that the French settled here about 1676; and yet in these documents we find them possessing premises at Dacca and even disposing of those premises as early as 1674.

"No. 12 was a packet containing copies of five *firmans* permitting the Dutch to trade in the provinces of Oudh, Allahabad, and Agra,

"No. 42 contained twenty-one volumes of journals and minutes of the Dutch Administration from 1773 to 1805. These would in all probability furnish materials for a finely complete history of Netherlands India for that period; and would admirably illustrate the history of the British power during the same time.

"No. 57 was a book containing a note of Warren Hastings on the capture of the Fort and Town of Chinsurah in 1781.

"The Danish records of Serampur date from 1745. Both these and the surviving relics of the Dutch papers was described as 'covered with the dust of years,' 'worm-eaten and decaying,' 'many in a state of inseparable cohesion.' "

MURSHIDABAD.—"The mutilation of the ancient and extremely valuable archives of Murshidabad is, we believe, a matter of history. Of the whole mass of the old English records of this collectorate, *three* volumes alone now survive! The first of these volumes contains the minutes of the Provincial Court at Murshidabad for the latter half of the year 1778; the second volume contains the minutes of the Provincial Council for the first half of the year 1780, the third volume contains the correspondence of the collectorate during the years 1791 to 1795. Between these records and those of recent years there is, alas! an historical blank—*hiatus valde deflendus*, which can now never be filled up."

BIHAGALPUR.—"Probably few districts surpass in the scientific value of their archives; for here we find not only the usual series, but also such valuable monographs as Sutherland's *Reports on the Hill Tribes*, not to mention numerous letters of Cleveland, the pioneer of civilisation amongst the aborigines of the hill-tracts. If those enquiries into the condition and history of the non-Aryan tribes of Bengal, so well commenced by Hodgson and Hunter and a few others, are even to be made thorough and exhaustive, it must also necessarily be by the aid of these most important documents; which (the statement will perhaps appear incredible to many of our readers) are sharing a common fate with the most trivial bills and accounts of a mofussil office! With material such as these at his command, a writer possessing a lively imagination and a facile pen might perform for the Santals and the other wild tribes of Western Bengal a service similar to that which Sir Walter Scott did so well for the Highlanders of Scotland; meanwhile, these materials are consigned—*horresco referens*—to the tender mercy of the climate and the ants."

TIPPERAH.—"In the collectorate of Tipperah is to be found a highly valuable series of papers, of the years 1789-1792; wherein is buried an immense amount of information about the interesting states of Hill Tipperah. Turning to the Division of Rajshahi, we find a great number of documents

of a similar nature in the Rangpur Collectorate, illustrating in the same way the relations of Government with Bhutan, Kuch Behar and Assam. These records date from 1781, and those of the Dinajpur Collectorate from 1790. In Rajshahi itself we get papers dating from July, 1782, some of these are kept in almirahs, others carelessly bound together in *bustahs*; and, as usual, most of the volumes have been damaged either by damp or by white ants."

MIDNAPUR.—"These date from 1764; they throw light upon the commercial proceedings of the East India Company; and, as usual, they are most full and explicit upon almost every matter of interest and importance concerning the district."

PURNEAH.—"The papers of the old Purneah Council are believed to be at Allahabad; but in the Collectorate at Purneah are a large number of documents of the highest interest, dating from 1786. Some of the earliest of these throw light on the state of Nepal, the Morung, the frontier tribes and trade between them and Purneah at this period—a period far removed from the present day in point of civilisation in this part of Bengal. There are papers fully illustrating the famine of 1791; grants of lands to Europeans and permission to set up factories; measures undertaken to put down excessive usury and exactions on the part of the zemindars. There is, moreover, a most important account of the state of the various zemindars of the district in the year 1788."

THE writer of the article, from which we have made these most instructive quotations, comments on the haphazard way in which such a book as Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* comes into existence. "Four years ago," writes Sir William, "in taking over charge of the district Treasury, I was struck with the appearance of an ancient press, which from the state of its padlocks seem not to have been opened for many years, and with whose contents none of the native officials was acquainted. On being broken open it was found to contain the early records of the district from within a year of the time that it passed under British Rule. The volumes presented every appearance of age and decay; their yellow stained margins were deeply eaten into by insects, their outer pages crumbled to pieces under the most tender handling, and of some, the sole palpable remains were chips of paper mingled with the granular dust that white-ants leave behind." Commenting on this passage, Mr. Lethbridge writes: "Mr. Macaulay's researches prove that Dr. Hunter was mistaken in this assertion (*i.e.*, as to the date of the earliest document at Birbhum); as the former gentleman has actually 'discovered' two earlier magistrates than any of those whose records are noticed in the *Annals*. It would be amusing were the subject less serious, to observe in what a haphazard way the record discoveries both

of Dr. Hunter and Mr. Macaulay were made: documents of the most inestimable value from the scientific point of view, are turned up because Dr. Hunter is struck with the appearance of a particularly rusty old box, and because Mr. Buckland some years afterwards (in the same office!) observes some papers which appear to be particularly tattered and neglected."

THE moral to which these extracts from Mr. Lethbridge's article point is fairly obvious. Some years ago, Professor T. W. Rhys Davids wrote of some words in regard to Asiatic research which go to the root of the present matter :—

"In India much of the inherited material is still buried in MS. and even so much as is accessible in printed texts has been by no means thoroughly exploited. Scarcely anything also has yet been done for the excavation of historical sites. We might do well to recollect, when we read these complaints of the absence of materials, that the remedy lies, to a very large extent, in our own hands. We might so easily have more. We do not even utilise the materials we have. To speak out quite plainly, it is not so much the historical data that are lacking as the men. There are plenty of men able and willing to do the work. But it is an accepted tradition in England that all higher education may be safely left to muddle along as best it can, without system, under the not always very wise restrictions of private beneficence. One consequence is that the funds have to be administered in accord with the wish of benefactors in mediæval times, the old studies, theology, classics, and mathematics have a superabundance of endowment. The new studies have to struggle on under great poverty and difficulty. There is no chair of Assyriology for instance in England. And whereas in Paris and Berlin, in S. Petersburg and Vienna, there are great seminaries of oriental learning, we see in London the amazing absurdity of unpaid professors obliged to devote to the earning and otherwise of their living the time they ought to give to teaching and research. And throughout England the state of things is nearly as bad. In all England, for instance, there are two chairs of Sanscrit. In Germany the Government provide more than twenty—just as if Germany's interests in India were more than ten times as great as ours".

It will be always worth while to take a note, when occasion occurs, of the date of the construction of any Calcutta thoroughfare. From No. XCL. of the *Calcutta Review* I excerpt: "Up to this time access to the southern and western suburbs of Alipore, Kidderpore, and Garden Reach, was over the two very

ungainly and unsafe bridges, then commonly known as Zeerat's and Surman's bridges. But in 1810, Government resolved to replace these by two more creditable productions of the Public Works Department, though they were still to be wooden structures; and in order to extend the contemplated improvements in this region, they applied to the Military Orphan Society to allow a road to be made across their property, parallel to the nullah, connecting these new bridges on the southern bank: for up to this time the grounds of Kidderpore House had sloped down to the water's edge. This new road was constructed in 1812; and it was then proposed by one of the Managers to let out for native tenements and a bazaar the space lying between the road and the nullah, which could be no longer used by the inmates of Kidderpore House. Out of this arose the Kidderpore Bazaar." The writer of the article, from which this quotation is made, records in a footnote that the right of the inmates to the land skirting Tolly's Nullah, was in March 1813, "very warmly but unsuccessfully contested by the then Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs W. Thackeray," who was no other than the father of the brilliant author of *Vanity Fair*.

ANOTHER small but interesting fact I have learned from the Records at St. John's Church. The row of godowns, which in the memory of most of us formed a boundary on the south to the Church compound and skirted Hastings Street, were at one time the property of Sir Robert Chambers. The house in the corner formed by the junction of Hastings Street and Church Street was at one time the residence of Mrs. Fay, and before her day it was the Old Post Office and has thus given its name to Old Post Office Street.

THE history of the building of the barracks at Berhampur is still very obscure. Lieutenant Colonel Tull Walsh in his *History of Murshidabad* (p. 45) writes: "Berhampur, originally a piece of waste land to the south of Cossimbazar and Khagra, was selected as the site for a cantonment in October 1757, after the decisive victory of Clive's troops at Plassey. The *Sanad* given by Mir Jaffer granted to the Company 123 acres of land; but the Directors in England declined, at that time, to sanction the works, and later on, sanction being given, the barracks were commenced in 1765 and completed in two years." Mr. S. C. Hill, in writing of the Company's tank at Fort Orleans, Chandernagore, writes: "This use of tanks for defensive purposes was an excellent one, as they also provided a good supply of drinking water. A little later Clive protected his great barracks at Berhampur with a line of large tanks along the landward side." (*Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 19.) I have not as yet consulted the original documents, but I have done the next best thing and looked through the



THE PARKS, BERHAMPTON.
(Photographed by the Rev. H. A. Phipps, etc.)

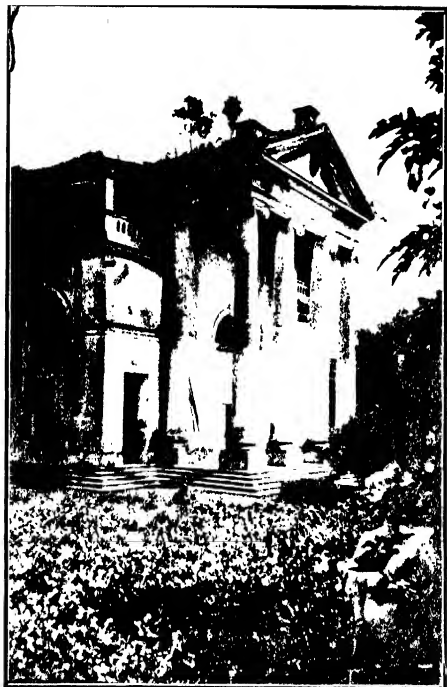
Press Lists, and I am now confident that Mr. Hill, for once, has made a mistake. On the 24th January 1770 we find entered estimates for a palisade round the cantonments at Berhampur and for a ditch to surround them. On the Consultations of 6th March of the same year there is an indent for timber and planks and this indent would lead one to suppose that the work had not gone far. On the 14th March, the Committee of Works at Berhampur wrote regarding the rate for brickwork round the cantonments. On the date 1st March 1772, we come across an estimate by Mr. Henry Watson for barracks and an hospital at Berhampur, and on 18th April a draft of a letter to the Chief and Council at Cossimbazar directing that no new foundation whatever be laid at Berhampur. On the Consultations of 21st August 1772, occur (1) a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, Chief Engineer, submitting an estimate of the expense of completing the building of the Berhampur Cantonments, (2) letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell submitting proposal for making a ditch and stockaded palisade round the Berhampur Cantonment instead of a brickwall, (3) draft of a letter to the Committee of Circuit "enquiring what further buildings are in their opinion indispensably necessary for the accommodation of the Brigade at Berhampur and requesting that steps may be taken to supply the required materials." On the Consultations of 10th September there is the reply of the Committee of Circuit, and a letter requiring Campbell to submit one set of plans and elevations, etc., of the intended buildings at Berhampur to the Secretary to the Board and another to the Chief of Cossimbazar. On the 22nd March 1773, Lieutenant George Russell, Superintendent of the Works at Berhampur, reports to the Chief and Council of Cossimbazar the expense of completing the building of the cantonments. The dates of these documents would at least show that the ascription of the building of the Berhampur Barracks to Clive is no longer to be entertained.

BY the kindness of our patron, H.H. the Nawab of Murshidabad, I have before me a copy of Mir Kasim's account of Suraj-ud-daula's mad career on the Musnud. His Highness has filled our cup of gratitude till it overflows by a generous offer to permit the invaluable records of his family to be copied, edited, and published. This, of course, will be a work that cannot be achieved within a few months, and although our friend the Dewan Sahib has given me permission to produce Mir Kasim's letter in this issue of our Journal, both the Persian scholar, who has kindly consented to collaborate with me, and the Dewan himself agree with me in thinking that a piece-meal publication of the more interesting documents would not be in the interest of the publication of the series as a whole. Neither the late Dr. Wilson nor Mr. S. C. Hill had the opportunity of studying the Murshidabad

records, and although Mr. H. Beveridge occasionally quotes from them, I do not think that he was acquainted with more than a few extracts sent to him by the Palace Librarian. Research in this direction will cover a field of virgin soil. It is impossible to anticipate the result of the work that lies before us, but if indeed, as is most improbable, we do not add to our knowledge of historical facts, these documents must surely show us how the facts presented themselves to the eyes of the Court at Murshidabad. It is always a good thing to try and read history through some one else's eyes.

NO one was "so down on" Suraj-ud-daula as the man who staged the tragedy of Patna. If Lord Macaulay had made as much of the Patna Massacre as he made of the Black Hole and transferred his climax from Plassey to Udwa Nalla, the average Englishman would have had a better chance of understanding the history of the English in India than he has at present. The Plassey perspective is absolutely delusive. If Watts had not succeeded in passing himself off as a lady of Mir Jaffer's seraglio and securing admission to that old Jafferganj Palace we so recently visited, it is most probable that Clive's forces at Plassey, hopelessly outflanked as they were, would have been either cut to pieces or driven into the river. Watts' palanquin and the nimble brain of the diplomatist inside were as "decisive" as that disobedience of Kilpatrick to Clive's orders which forced the day of June 23rd. To stake Clive's reputation on Plassey is to belittle a great man. And as Plassey must yield in historical importance to Udwa Nalla and Buxar, so the tragedy of the Black Hole must yield in dramatic importance to that of Patna. The Black Hole was the result of sheer thoughtlessness, and readers of Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence* (Vol. II., p. 175) will remember how the thoughtlessness of a young British Officer led to a very similar tragedy at Ujinwalla exactly one hundred and one years later. But the Patna business, with its renegade European butcher, was an event far more adequate to Macaulay's description of the Black Hole:—"Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderers, approaches the horrors which were recounted." The photographs of the old graveyard at Patna with which two of our members, Mr. P. A. Selfe and A. de Cosson, have provided us this issue, show the lofty monument erected to the memory of Mir Casim's victims.

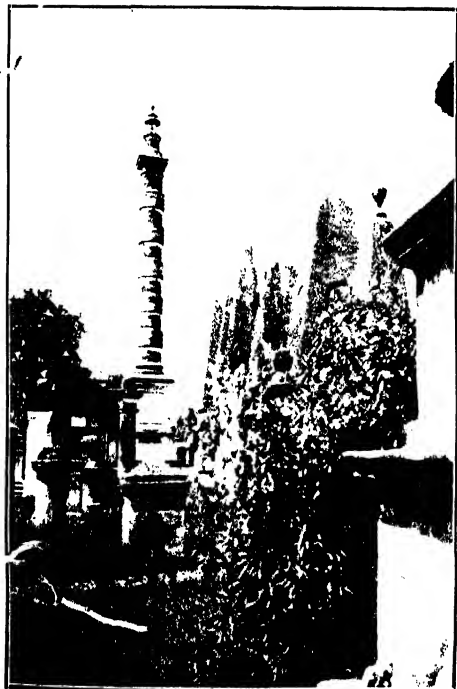
AN account of our expeditions to Murshidabad, Cossimbazar and Plassey appears elsewhere in the present issue, but I cannot let pass by this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to our friends at Murshidabad for all the pains they took to show us all that could possibly be seen at these places.



OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT PATNA.
(Photo by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photo by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by A. de Cossan, Esq.)

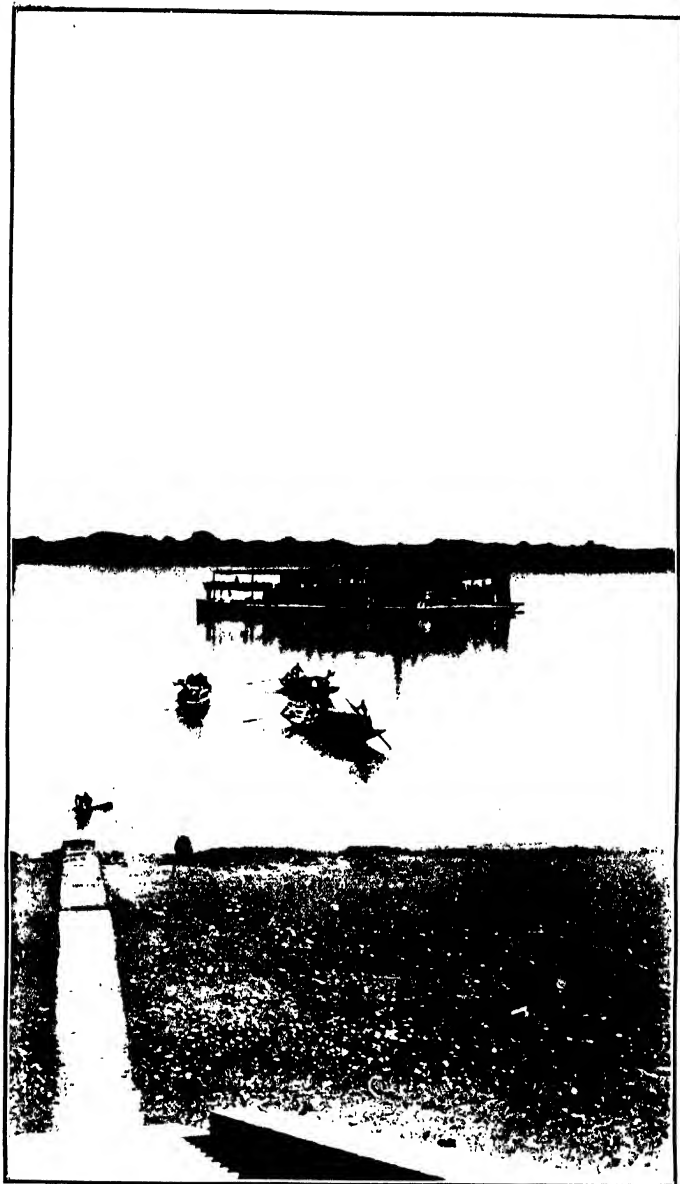
within the time at our disposal and for so thoughtfully providing for our comforts. The idea of our Expeditions was suggested to us by the Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta at the Society's Inaugural Meeting, but I do not think that he or any one else at that time could have dreamed that it would be possible for the Society to organise Expeditions to places so far distant from Calcutta as are Berhampur and Murshidabad, and yet to show the pilgrims so much within less than twenty-four hours. The very success of our Expeditions, of course, affords occasion for criticism. Because the meals provided have been ample, the Expeditions have been hit off as "picnics" by the people who would probably be the loudest in complaint if the tiffin-baskets had gone astray. It is most unlikely that any one who has not himself worked out the details of such an Expedition as our Murshidabad Expedition involved, could in the least appreciate the amount of previous preparation required to enable our party to see in comfort all that they did see. At Plassey our good friends, Fazal Rubbee Khan Bahadur and Babu P. C. Majumdar, had before our arrival gone over the whole field and carefully taken the time of the elephants in order that our visit should not be either over hurried or too long drawn out. At Murshidabad again our route was most carefully gone over and timed out beforehand, and where it was decided that the pilgrims would have no time to halt, the places of historical interest were denoted by signboards. If it had not been for the princely hospitality of His Highness the Nawab, the toil bestowed on our behalf by the Dewan Sahib, His Highness' Private Secretary, and—I may add His Highness' Master of Horse—the Society would have had to expend not twenty but more like sixty hours in seeing all that they saw, and the cost of the tickets would have been nearer sixty than sixteen rupees. If we did not see all that we might have seen the failure must be attributed to the fact that we succumbed to a very natural temptation to stay too long at Jafferganj. The time spent in taking photographs precluded us from seeing much that we most wanted to see at the Palace, but still this could hardly be helped. The wonder is that we saw all that we did see in so short a time, for the business of taking well nigh seventy ladies and gentlemen, there and back, a distance of 246 miles, carrying them over nearly fifteen miles of historical sites, seeing that they were provided with *gharris*, elephants, horses, etc., and that they would have no complaint to make as to the commissariat, was not quite so simple a matter as some may believe. The success of our Expeditions has been due to a kind of Freemasonry practised by all concerned in their management.

NOT the least charm of our Expeditions has been the kindly reception given to us by our native hosts. We have made the acquaintance of lineal

descendants of Mir Jaffer, Mir Miran, Mahomed Reza Khan, Kantu Babu, Nanda Kumar, and the Jagat Seths. At a time when Bengal was supposed to be restless, our Society has met with a warm welcome wherever it placed its feet.

IT is but rarely that a mistake can be detected in Dr. Busteed's careful work, but I find that he has made a serious error in regard to the personality of Alexander Kynynmound Elliot. The Doctor writes with reference to the Nanda Kumar trial "after the jury had been sworn, an objection was made by Farrer, at the instigation of his client, to the gentleman who it was proposed should interpret during the trial as being connected with persons whom the prisoner considered as his enemies." This was Mr. Alexander Elliot, "eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindustani languages," an intimate friend both of the Governor-General and of the Chief Justice, and, strange to say, son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who took so leading a part in the House of Commons on the motion for the impeachment of Impey thirteen years afterwards." In a footnote the Doctor adds: "Young Elliot died early in India (1778). Hastings was much attached to him, and wrote some verses to his memory in imitation of Horace. Sir Gilbert writing to his wife (February 1788) of Hastings at his impeachment says 'I never saw Hastings till to-day, and had not formed anything like a just idea of him. I never saw a more miserable-looking creature, but indeed he was so much the appearance of bad health, that I do not suppose he resembles even himself. He looks if he could not live a month. I always feel uncomfortable in the reflection of his connections with Alick, and I cannot say I was insensible to the idea of seeing him to-day.'" Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, relying very naturally on a guide so safe as Dr. Busteed, writes: "When thirteen years later it fell to the lot of the father [Lord Minto] to play so prominent a part against the son's [Alexander's] friend, he felt the position keenly," etc., etc. In the Index to Mr. Cotton's book on this showing, Alexander has the prefix of "Hon."

THE mistake is obvious when one reflects that the Sir Gilbert Elliot, who moved in the House of Commons for the impeachment of Impey, and who in 1798 was created Baron, and in 1813 Earl of Minto, was born on April 23, 1751: he could not therefore have had a son old enough to translate Persian at a trial in Calcutta in 1775. Dr. Busteed confused two Sir Gilbert Elliots, father and son, together, and thus made Alexander the son instead of the brother of the future Earl and Governor-General. My attention was drawn to this matter during the course of a search for the grave of Alexander Elliot, mentioned by Hastings in a poem which appears elsewhere in the present issue. He died, I knew, when on a mission to Madaji Bhonsla,



ARE THERE TO BE ANY RIVER EXPEDITION-
THIS HOT WEATHER?

The Maratha chief of Berar. Mr. C. B. Bailey most kindly allowed me to the look through P.W.D. lists of historical monuments, but there is no satisfactory list for the Central Provinces, and I could discover nothing in this direction. But, in the meanwhile my friend Mr. P. Dias following up the information I had been able to give him, ascertained that Alexander Elliot died at Sarangarh, not far from Cuttack. This information obtained, Sir Charles Allan communicated with the local authorities, and it was speedily ascertained that the grave is at M. Saler on the Lot Nala in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. "The tomb is surrounded by an enclosure and is repaired every year by the British Government through the authorities of the Sarangarh Feudatory State."—The inscription runs as follows :

To the memory of Alexander Elliot, Esquire, who having been selected at a very early period of life for the execution of an important commission at Nagpur, died of fever at this place on the 12th of September, 1778, aged 23 years. This monument, which covers his remains, was erected in testimony of his virtues and of the loss which his State has sustained in his death, by order of (the) Governor-General of Bengal.

THE story of this inquiry, I venture to think, serves to show how much we need a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicæ Britannicæ*. Let me quote from the Preface of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson's invaluable but very far from perfect *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Bengal* :—

"The utility and interest of such lists is admitted, and in the first-half of the present century more than one attempt was made by private enterprise to form a record of the monumental inscriptions of British India, the latest being the *Bengal Obituary* published by Holmes and Company, the Cossitolah Undertakers in 1848. As regards the churches and graveyards of Calcutta this list is full and valuable but as regards mufassil monuments and inscriptions it is unfortunately very imperfect. The compilers seem to have depended on contributions from correspondents, and these were apparently exceedingly superficial. Since then no publication of the kind has been attempted, and it has long been felt that the work of collecting the inscriptions of British India is one which might well be undertaken by Government. 'Why,' wrote a distinguished Civilian in 1892, 'why should there not be a *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicæ Britannicæ*, giving the epitaphs of the men who lived and died to build up British India? They would be better reading than the bland platitudes of Asoka.....It is time that something should be done, for not only are many inscriptions becoming illegible, but, not to speak of tablets which have been converted into curry-stones, monuments are

always being carried away by those grim wolves, the rivers of Bengal, who with privy paws daily devour apace, and nothing said.'

"This is a first edition. The lists will undoubtedly require revision as well as additions, and the Public Works Department will be very glad to receive suggestions for the improvement of the work. Even as it stands, it seems to me an impressive record. A man must be strangely constituted indeed who can read the names contained in these pages and not feel some of the emotion which finds expression in the noble obituary speech of Pericles. We, too, can say with even greater truth than the Athenian that our race has not left itself without a witness, for we too have set forth our power with mighty signs and have forced every sea and every land to give way to our daring. 'For such a state as this have these men nobly fought and died, vindicating its just title to unimpaired rights, and in the service of such a state we who remain here, should be glad to toil.'"

BURKE'S *Peerage* gives April 8, 1754, as the date of Alexander Elliot's birth and October 1777 as the date of his death. The last date is clearly wrong. If the date given for Elliot's birth is correct, then he was only twenty-one at the time he interpreted at Nanda Kumar's trial and only twenty-four when he died in the execution of a mission which Hastings described as "a most critical service but likely to prove the era of a new systems in the British Empire in India." After the Nanda Kumar trial, at the time of which Elliot held the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa or native exchequer, he was sent to England with report drawn up by himself and Tolfrey, the Under-Sheriff of Calcutta. In the *Life and Letter of Sir Gilbert Elliot First Earl of Minto*, we find an amusing portrait of the Persian scholar :—

"Some pencil-drawings and black shades are still extant which represent various members of the family, and were probably done at this time, for at no other can Alick and Hugh have sat for the companion portraits which hang side by side at Minto. While the extraordinary erection on Isabella's head—composed of hair, feathers, and flowers—explains certain passages in her letters of this date :—'Poor Alick's eastern eyes behold us with despair. He could not bear flowers nor feathers nor stays so to please him we have almost left off feathers'—*c'est bien complaisant*—but we can go no further. Again, 'The heads are higher than ever, with feathers *en rayons de soleil* and *le jardin anglais*—fruit, turnips, and potatoes; the gowns trimmed the same way. To give you some idea, my gown for the birthday was trimmed with grapes, acorns, and roses, so that I looked like a walking hot-house, but upon the whole it was pretty.' No wonder that Lady Barrymore, one of the first to import the new fashion from Paris, was mobbed

at public places—which, by the way, she rather liked. Lady Elliot describes Alick, on his first return from India, as remarkably 'genteel' in figure, with the air of a man of fashion, but not at all *swainish*. Everybody at home agreed that Hugh was one of the best looking maccaronis of the day." Hugh, of course, being the future Governor of Madras.

IF we may accept the date, April 8, 1754, given by Burke, as correct we may say that Alexander Elliot had not arrived at the age of eighteen when in company with Sir John D'Oyley and John Dyneley, he was appointed to be an assistant at the Council at Murshidabad. I do not know when exactly the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa (Exchequer Records) was formed, but Elliot was the first to occupy it. The duties of the appointment are thus defined by Warren Hastings in a letter to Lord Mansfield, dated January 20, 1776. "This is an office of late institution. The business of the Superintendent is to receive and file all complaints and petitions referred to him by the Council, to take the evidences upon them, to trace in the minutes of the Council and other public records, whatever has a relation to them, and to state and prepare them for the Board." In recommending Elliot to the great English Judge, Hastings continues,

I hope you will not form your opinion of his abilities from the youthfulness of his appearance. If I am not partial to him, his judgment and understanding would do credit to a much more advanced age. He is peculiarly qualified to answer any inquiries which your Lordship may have occasion to make upon the subject of the enclosed sheets, as he had charge of the records of the two Superior Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, and was the first person appointed to the office of Superintendent of the Khalsa Records.' Referring also to George Vansittart, Hastings goes on to say: "These gentlemen are both masters of the Persian language; and while I mention them as persons to whom I may refer for that information which I would wish your Lordship to receive as my own, I hope it will not be an improper recommendation of them to add that both have my entire confidence.*"

OUR next sketch of Alexander Elliot is afforded by General Clavering's evidence at the trial of J. Fowke, Nanda Kumar and Ray Rada Churn for conspiracy. Thus swore the General: "A little time after my arrival, Mr. Elliot came to me, to propose himself, to be my interpreter. I acquainted

*Gleig. *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*. Vol. ii. pp., 23-24.

him that I understood there was an interpreter on the establishment, who was then with the army, and I had a very good character of him, and therefore I did not chuse (*sic*) to make any disposition of it at that time, but would wait till the interpreter returned to Calcutta. Mr. Elliot understood it as explained by me, and was pleased to offer me his service till such time as my interpreter arrived. From that time I am not conscious that I received any Persian letter, or petition, that I did not put into his hands. In the meantime divisions of the Council had broken out. Mr. Elliot, I understood, had been admitted a Private Secretary to the Governor. About a month after his tendering his services, Mr. Elliot came to me and acquainted me that he understood that the interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief had been recommended by the Governor to the late Commander; but on my making some difficulty to accept an interpreter that might have been recommended by the Governor to the late Commander, Mr. Elliot opened himself further to me, and told me in a very honourable manner that I must be sensible, from his close connection with the Governor-General how unpleasant a thing it would be to him to accept of such a trust from me."

" 'Mr. Elliot here wishes the General would recollect whether the occasion of this conversation was not a letter from the King at Delhi.'

"Mr. Elliot, however, still offered to translate such papers as might be sent to me. I accordingly did send them, I believe to all but him."

THE General then goes on to say how "about the middle of January" (1775) his palanquin was nearly upset by a crowd of petitioners—"the Molungies of the 24-Pergunnahs" and how in reading this petition on his way to the Court House he saw in it "some very great abuse of power" and reflecting "that the several petitions which I had before laid before the Council, which had been presented in the streets to me, had no effect in redressing their grievances, I had resolved to inquire myself as well as I could." The General in consequence sent for James Fowke, Hastings' arch foe, to translate the petitions. The General's evidence is absolutely inconsequential, for he assigns "the middle of January" as the date of the assault of his palanquin and yet he swore "from the 18th of November to the 20th December was the only time I sent petitions to Mr. Fowke." Observe his insinuation: "Mr. Elliot was, about the 20th December, appointed Superintendent of the Khalsa Records with the intention of receiving all petitions. This was done with an intention to prevent my employing Mr. Fowke, and I acquiesced in it: there was no office to receive and examine petitions."

In the Nanda Kumar case Elliot was called upon to act as Persian interpreter, and his work in that capacity was of considerable importance. We extract the following from the official report of the trial :—

" Mr. William Chambers,* the principal interpreter, not being yet come from Madras, and the two assistant interpreters, on account of their imperfect knowledge of English, being deemed insufficient for a trial so long as this was expected to be, Mr. Alexander Kyn. Elliot, Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, a gentleman eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindustani languages, and Mr. William Jackson, lately admitted an Attorney of the Court, who speaks the Hindustani tongue fluently, were requested by the Court to interpret.

" The Council for the prisoner desired that the evidence might be interpreted to him in the Hindustani language, as it was most generally understood by the audience, and requested that the interpreter of the Court might be employed for that purpose and objected to the interpretation of Mr. Elliot as being connected with persons who the prisoner considered as his enemies.

Chief Justice.—The principal interpreter of the Court is absent, the gentlemen of the Jury have heard the interpretation of the assistant interpreter on other occasions. Do you, Gentlemen, think we shall be able to go through this cause with the assistance of those interpreters only.

Jury.—We are sure we shall not be able.

Chief Justice.—It is a cruel insinuation against the character of Mr. Elliot. His youth, just rising into life, his family, his known abilities and honour should have protected him from it.

[Mr. Elliot desired he might decline interpreting.]

Chief Justice.—We must insist upon it that you interpret. You should be above giving way to the imputation. Your skill in the languages and your candour will show how little ground there is for it.

Mr. Farrer.—I hope Mr. Elliot does not think the objection came from me; it was suggested to me.

Chief Justice.—Who suggested it?

Mr. Farrer.—I am not authorised to name the person.

Chief Justice.—It was improper to be made, especially as the person who suggested does not authorise you to avow it.

Jury.—We all desire that Mr. Elliot, whose character and abilities we all know, would be so kind to interpret. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Jackson were sworn to interpret."

* A brother of Sir Robert Chambers and a very remarkable person of his day in Calcutta.

OF the part Elliot played in this memorable trial I will say no more in this place, for I am nursing the hope that the Society will allow me to publish on their behalf a carefully annotated edition of the official Report, which, it would seem, was drawn up by Tolfrey, the under Sherif, and Elliot himself. Our next witness must be the Rev. G. R. Gleig, who, with characteristic inaccuracy, spells Elliot with a double.

"IT will be borne in mind that at a period, when his (Warren Hastings) difficulties had risen to their height, when not himself alone but his friends and dependents were driven from their employments and accused of crimes the least flagrant of which, if perpetrated, must have excluded them from the society of honest men, Mr. Hastings, apprehensive on various accounts that the mainspring of all this hostility lay deeper than the breasts of his colleagues at Calcutta, determined on sending to England certain trustworthy agents, who might watch over his interests. For this purpose he made choice of three gentlemen in particular, Mr. George (not "George" but "Alexander") Elliot, the son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, a young man of rare promise and singularly matured judgment; of the Honorable James Stuart, one of the sons of the Earl of Bute, whom, because he was the Governor's *protégé*, the majority had removed from the Chief Secretaryship of Bengal and of Lieutenant-Colonel Maclean, to whose noble exertions and disinterested friendship I am glad that it has fallen to my lot to bear testimony. These, as has been shown in the course of this narrative, carried with them full powers to act for Mr. Hastings as if the cause had been their own, one restriction only being laid upon them, namely, that it was his good name, not his station, or pecuniary resources of which they were the appointed guardians."

OF Elliot's home-going Beveridge, in his prejudiced work, *the Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar*, gives the following account: "Nanda Kumar having been hanged, the next thing to be done was to justify the act in England. For this purpose Alexander Elliot, who had acted as interpreter during the trial, was forthwith sent home entrusted with the publication of the trial. Elliot was secretary to the *Khalsa* (the Exchequer or Revenue Office). Hastings' permission was necessary for his departure. Hastings gave it and took part in sending him—another link in the chain of evidence connecting him with Nanda Kumar's case." The report of the trial had, in fact, been drawn up by the Sheriff and Under-Sheriff of Calcutta with Elliot's assistance, from the Judges' notes (still preserved in the Bar Library) and those of a Mr. Foxcraft who had acted as assistant to Mr. Farrer. It is pertinent to Beveridge's far-going advocacy to maintain that Elliot, having been

entrusted with the publication of the report, produced a version of it designed to conceal what Mr. Beveridge was pleased to characterise "a judicial murder." It may be said of Beveridge's book, that, while it is replete with historical information which only a patient student actually in Bengal and with some lengthy experience of the country could bring together, its partisan bias is so obvious, that one is perhaps tempted to withhold from the book the esteem which it in many respects merits. Elliot was a man of established honour and reputation. Of him, albeit the confidant of both Impey and Hastings, the latter's implacable foes had written "of whose person and qualifications we had all the same sentiments. If he prefers honour to emolument, as we are thoroughly persuaded he does, a difference of opinion which went only to the amount of the salary and which was determined before his name was mentioned will not weigh in his mind against the pleasure of knowing that his character united every opinion in his favour." So wrote Francis and Monson on January 16, 1775. With Clavering Elliot always seems to have stood well. Beveridge quotes Macintosh as writing from Calcutta in December 1779 "the trial published in England is regarded on this side to be spurious and false." Of the value of any uncorroborated statement of either Francis or of his paid yet publicly disavowed agent, Macintosh, the reader who consults a footnote on pp. 96, 97 of Vol. II. of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen's *Nuncumar and Impey* will be in a position to judge. The high esteem in which Elliot in his lifetime was held by Hastings' foes is quite sufficient to place his reputation far beyond dispute. If one wishes to judge of the value of Beveridge as an authority, consider these facts. In 1877 and 1878, he published in the *Calcutta Review* three articles on Warren Hastings, and in the second and third of these articles he passionately set forth Burke's view that Nanda Kumar had been judicially murdered. In 1885 Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, in taking Beveridge's articles to pieces, admitted that Beveridge "had read the trial of Nuncumar, but when he published his reviews he had obviously no professional knowledge of the English law." On p. 192 of Vol. I. Sir James seems to let Mr. Beveridge off in a most kindly way. "Upon the whole, the mistakes which I have pointed out in Mr. Beveridge's elaborate and laborious articles are, I think, sufficient to show that his criticisms are rash and often unjust; and that he did not when he wrote them possess the knowledge of judicial affairs requisite to make him a competent critic of the matter on which he wrote. Still, with the single exception of Mr. Adolphus, he is the only writer who seems to me to have tried even unsuccessfully to study the original authorities." In 1886, Beveridge published his reply to Sir J. F. Stephen—*The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, a Narrative of a Judicial Murder*. In his introduction he writes: "I

have now, thanks to the Calcutta Public Library, obtained the 20th Volume of Howell, and have been animated by Sir J. Stephen's example to study the reports of all three trials most closely. I certainly had no idea that so much could be got out of them and here I offer my thanks to Sir J. Stephen for putting me on the proper track." Where then did Mr. Justice Beveridge get his knowledge of the Trial! For if he did not study Vol. XV. of the *State Trials* until his opponent had mildly drawn his attention to that record, it has also to be remembered that it was not until 1886, when he had already found Sir Elijah Impey guilty of "judicial murder" that a native gentleman brought to Beveridge's knowledge the existence of the original report. To the dishonour of one who was in his lifetime *sans peur et sans reproche* Mr. Beveridge, with a saving clause "poor Elliot," by insinuation rather than honest assertion, has represented one of the cleanest and best of the English in Bengal as an accessory to an alleged crime.

IN regard to Alexander Elliot's return to England there are some apparent but not real contradictory statements in the *Memoir of the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot*. On p. 94 we read "in the spring of the year 1776 Alick had returned somewhat unexpectedly from India, with the reputation of being the first man there for character and abilities," but on p. 97 we read "Alick did not return to England till after his brother's (Hugo's departure) for Berlin in the spring of 1777, and early in the summer of the same year he went out to India, where he died in 1778." It is certain that Alexander was in England in the summer of 1776, for on 28th June of that year Maclean wrote out to Hastings: "Elliot has had bad health since his return. He is now better. His father at first seemed dissatisfied, but Gordass's late appointment has set all right again. I really believe chagrin at the little service he was able to do you with Lord North, who not only received him very coldly, but has been very cold to his father ever since, has had some share in his illness. The only effect this coldness has had on Sir Gilbert, or is likely to have, is that it will make him more determined." It seems clear that the family were reunited at Twickenham in September 1776. Alick writes: "I have visited the mill and the rivulet and the Thames, the spots where we first learned to love each other, and only you are wanting to make us perfectly happy." In November, after witnessing the election of his eldest son to the House of Commons, old Sir Gilbert fell ill, and under the charge of his second son, Hugh, he travelled with Lady Elliot and his daughter Isabella to Marseilles, but at Avignon, Hugh was "relieved in his melancholy duties by his brother Alick; and Hugh, on account of matters connected with his recent appointment to Berlin, returned to England, after a parting so

sad and painful, that Sir Gilbert is described as frequently recurring to it, saying with a sigh 'Poor, poor Hugh! how unhappy he was to leave us.' Sir Gilbert Elliot (the 3rd Baronet) died at Marseilles on January 11, 1777, but his body did not reach Minto for interment till the following August. On April the 1st of that year Hugh reached Berlin and in March the Dowager Lady Elliot and Isabella were once more in England. "A curious succession of accidents," writes Hugh's biographer, "caused the various members of the family to miss each other, though actually crossing the channel or approaching its shores on the same day; thus Hugh had sailed from Gravesend (for Cuxhaven) a few hours before Sir Gilbert and Lady Elliot arrived there, and they, during a passage of four hours to Calais, crossed Alick on his way to England, while the Dowager Lady Elliot and Isabella, who were travelling leisurely from Paris, were passed on the road by (the new) Sir Gilbert and his wife hurrying to join them in the French Capital."

How was it that at so distressing a time as the death of his father, Alexander Elliot could allow his widowed mother and sister to proceed on their way home unprotected by his presence, while the dear mortal remains were to travel to their resting place at Minto on a journey of unexplained length in duration? The fact is that while at Marseilles, the ever vigilant Elliot had been apprised of a new design to re-establish in India all that had been lost to the French at Wandewash. The story of this discovery must be reserved to a future issue of *Bengal: Past and Present*. There was no time to be lost, he had to report himself at head-quarters, and then to rush post haste back to Bengal. In a sad letter from his mother to Hugh we read: "That your fate and Alick's notwithstanding all your advantages, require perpetual absence, is a heavy sorrow. May I not say with the Duchess of Richmond in *Richard*:

"But death has snatched my husband from my arms,
And pluckt two feeble crutches from my feeble hands,
Clarence and Edward. Oh what cause have I, etc., etc."

You both live, thanks to heaven! but you are both lost to me; you, perhaps, I may still embrace, though perhaps not, but Alick, I dare say, I have parted with for ever, his picture is now before me in my snuff-box, and that is all I have of him who lightened my burdens with unwearied duty. May heaven bless and preserve him, but he is gone to a climate which I am sure will destroy him." The mother's instinct was true. One year and one month after the remains of his father had reached Minto, the "faithful Elliot," as Maclean most justly described him, perished, after a manful contest for our Empire, in the swamps of Cuttack.

BUT before passing on we must take some further account of Elliot's work in England. His father, the poet and scholar, Sir Gilbert, it must be remembered was a man of great political influence. He had at first supported the party of Pitt and Grenvilles, but afterwards attached himself to that of Lord Bute yet not without a hope of reconciling his former and present allies. He latterly became the chief adviser of George the III and directed the King's policy. In a letter to Lawrence Sullivan, dated 21st March, 1776, Hastings alludes to the powerful advocate he had secured in the person of Alexander's father. "I wish," he writes, "I had early received the advice of Sir Gilbert Elliot. I am afraid I have too often punished the majority with arms against myself by observing a contrary rule. No part of your letter has given me so much pleasure as the information of his disposition towards me. It will have prepared him to receive with great approbation the event of his son's return. I shall never forgive myself for having consented to it, if he is displeased with it; and yet I am sure that it was placing my friend Elliot in a point of view so conspicuous, that perhaps another opportunity might not have occurred in the course of his life to make his abilities equally known to the public, nor equally useful. But I will not entertain a doubt on the subject. It was a laudable measure; it will be received as such, and it will prove successful in every way. I do not despair of seeing him yet with your namesake."

EVERY student of Anglo-Indian history knows how exceedingly involved was the great Proconsul's position at this period, and how difficult it is to find one's way through the vast labyrinth of intrigue and counter-intrigue. Hastings, it must be remembered, had placed his confidence in Lord North, who had given him every encouragement. The confidence was quite misplaced as North was bringing every possible pressure to bear on the Directors to recall Hastings and appoint a Clavering in his room. On the 9th May, 1776, the Directors by a majority of one decided to recall the Governor, but on May the 18th, the General Court of Proprietors supported Hastings by a majority of 108 votes and a few weeks later the Directors by a majority of two decided to cancel their former decision. Of the meeting on May the 18th, Maclean writes: "Sir Gilbert Elliot and his sons came together to the ballot, and gave in their papers open. Sir Gilbert took this occasion of declaring his sentiments against the violence and injustice of the proceedings against you; 'there are only two places,' he said, in which it became him to discuss the matter,—the India House and the House of Commons,—and he should take the same line in both. This has given great offence to the administration. I have never known them so sore on any defeat. So great a majority has stunned them."

ON March the 27th, 1775, Hastings had written to Graham in England.

"I think it necessary to give both you and Colonel Maclean this separate notice, lest you should be at a distance from each other when the packet arrives, of a resolution which I have formed to leave this place, and return to England on the first ship of next season, if the first advices from England contain a disapprobation of the treaty of Benares, or of the Rohilla War and mark an evident disinclination towards me. In that case I can have nothing to hope, and shall consider myself at liberty to quit this hateful scene before my enemies gain their complete triumph over me.

"If, on the contrary, my conduct is commended, and I read in the general letters clear symptoms of a proper disposition towards me, I will wait the issue of my appeals.

"I have imparted this resolution to no other person on your side of the water, and I leave it to your discretion and Maclean's to make such use of it as you think proper. I shall certainly contrive to stop at the Cape for sake of intelligence."

In a post-script to his letter of 18th May, Hastings recalled these instructions. The indecent conduct of Francis and his fellows in visiting the imprisoned Nanda Kumar while the conspiracy charge was still pending, had clearly, in Hastings' opinion, taken his enemies to a length fatal to their manœuvres. "I am now resolved," he writes, "to see the issue of my appeal, believing it impossible that men whose actions are so frantic, can be permitted to remain in charge of so important a trust."

ALTHOUGH Hastings had revoked the discretionary powers he had vested in Maclean, yet the latter apparently felt himself still in the position to work for a compromise, on the basis of Hastings' retirement in honour and the fair treatment of those supporters of his policy who had been unfairly dealt with by the majority opposed to Hastings in the Bengal Council. But the Government were at the time bent on carrying the sterner measure, which, as we have seen, was defeated in the General Court on May the 18th. In August an offer of a compromise came to Maclean from the other side. "The overture," he writes, "was made directly from Lord North through the channel of Mr. Eden, the under-secretary of the Northern Department. This gentleman has since married Sir Gilbert Elliot's daughter, but the courtship had not then commenced. I knew he was the bosom friend of Mr. Wedderburne, and therefore I was suspicious that some deep plot lay under the proffered negotiation. I thought it strange that it did not rather come to me through the medium of Mr. Robinson with whom I had before negotiated or to Mr. Peckel through Lord Clarendon." The Mr. Eden mentioned here was the

father of a future Governor-General—the second Lord and the first Earl of Auckland.

It would serve no useful purpose to detail the course of Lord North's double faced politics. The fact was that he had signally failed in his attempt to strike at Hastings through the India House, and he was seeking to make use of Eden, a man of undoubted honour, in order to embarrass Elliot and consequently Maclean in their warfare on their master's behalf. Through Eden were to come dilatory suggestions of a compromise in order to gain time, silence Hastings' friends, or reveal their hand, while on the other hand a policy of another nature was to be worked out by Robinson through Woodehouse. The latter "in direct terms offered to negotiate for an Irish Peerage for Hastings" while Eden held to it that "nothing of this sort could be done on account of the acrimony and violence with which the contention had been carried on." Elliot and Maclean, after deliberation, feeling that a trap had been set for them, decided that Eden should be informed "that in respect of an honour from the crown, the same reason which made it necessary to demand an honour before Mr. Hastings had undergone the discussion of a General Court, rendered it necessary now to decline it: before this public discussion it was then the only mark that could be given that no stigma remained on Mr. Hastings for his resignation but now that his constituents had acquitted him in the most honourable manner, if an honour was granted, the censorious world would construe it into a bribe for relinquishing his station."

When Elliot gave this answer to Eden, the latter remarked: "It was lucky the honour from the crown was not made a stipulation, because it could not at *that time* be granted; he said it was also lucky no stipulation had been made on Sir Elijah Impey's account." At the unexpected mention of Sir Elijah's name, Elliot startled and broke off the conference. "I was much alarmed at this," writes Maclean, "because I had intelligence that the confidential cabinet had determined to supersede Sir Elijah; I was struck with Elliot's penetration, which has been conspicuous in all his conduct here, and we agreed instantly on the following answer: 'that we had not presumed to mention Sir Elijah's name, because we had never conceived him to be a party in the subject of discussion; but as his name had been mentioned, it alarmed our fears lest he should suffer on Mr. Hastings' account, and therefore, till those fears were removed, it would be highly dishonourable to proceed a step further in the business.' Those fears were removed."

AFTER many devious dealings, a compromise was come to on these terms:—

- "1. That the servants of the Company as had been displaced for attachment to Mr. Hastings be restored; but, as it is not

intended to lay any difficulty on administration, the specific offices will not be insisted on, only adequate offices.

(John Stewart, Playdell, Nat Middleton, and Fred Stewart, were named under the head.)

- "2. That some mark of favour from Government be conferred on such black servants as have been disgraced for the same cause that they may not appear disgraced in the eyes of the natives.
- "3. That Mr. Hastings' friends shall on all occasions receive promotion and favour adequate to their rank in the service and merit, and this to be a point of honour binding on the majority.
- "4. That all *retrospective and prosecution* prior to the late Act of Parliament appointing the Supreme Council cease and determine : and in any case any informer infringed this article, administration shall give their aid to quash and defeat it.
- "5. That Mr. Hastings shall be well received on his return, vote of thanks promoted if moved for, and *nobody to be displaced.*"

HAVING secured these terms, Maclean, with (I suppose) the concurrence of Elliot and Stewart, signified Hastings' desire to resign. In so doing, although acting for what he conceived to be the interests of his friend, Maclean clearly exceeded his powers; and, as we all know, Hastings in the sequel repudiated his agent's action. The North administration soon evinced its sense of the spirit of the compromise by the appointment of Clavering to the Order of the Bath and of Wheler to the Council in Bengal. Consequent on these appointments, Maclean and Stewart on 13th November 1776, advised Hastings to delay his resignation "till you have authentic accounts from England of some equivalent honour being bestowed on you, capable of counterbalancing its pernicious effects in the eyes of all the world and the hearts of your friends." In a second letter of the same date, Maclean and Stewart, urged still more strongly "you ought not to resign." Elliot, apparently, thought otherwise.

THE records of these negotiations are tedious reading, for we have long since learned that the confidence Hastings placed in the rectitude of Lord North was absurd as the dream that a "ribbon to put on his coat" would turn the strong hands of Warren Hastings from the work he had still before him in Bengal. But these records do bring out the fidelity of the men who served his cause in England in 1776. Our immediate interest is with Elliot and of him Maclean writes on 12th May, 1777 :

"Elliot, the *faithful* Elliot, who is the bearer of this, renders a long despatch now unnecessary, because he has either seen

everything or learned everything from me. He, and he alone, had my full confidence, because he alone deserved it. Be not, I entreat you, startled at this declaration, as if I meant to insinuate that you had not very many steady, faithful, and valuable friends; for I never knew any one man that had so many. But permit me to say that Elliot is the friend whom I have found actuated by the most disinterested motives; never endeavouring to clog your wheels by the additional weight of any personal impediments. This was not always the case with others; and it has been impossible for me to content all these who wanted to have made their own affairs a common cause with yours, most of whom I thought had no right to it."

IT is interesting to note that in this letter, Maclean alludes to a point of difference between himself and Elliot. "He thinks you are more bound by the resignation than I do, or (from what has been said) than either Lord North or Mr. Robinson." It seems to be the fact that North had no personal feeling whatsoever against Hastings, but was simply moved by his desire to please Clavering's powerful friends, and that latterly, deeply involved as he had become by compromises with Hastings' agents, he dreaded the return for which he had at one time worked! It is in any case significant that Wheler, sent out to fill the vacancy on the Council which would be created by Hastings' expected resignation, on the point of sailing from Portsmouth, got his commission altered, so that he might succeed to Monson instead of Hastings. In post haste the North administration sent to Portsmouth to obtain a written surrender of the first appointment; but in the meantime Wheler's ship, the *Syren*, had sailed. To patch matters up, it was decided in the Secretary of State's office, that Wheler's acceptance of the place vacated by Monson's death had been rendered void his acceptance of a vacancy which Hastings' return would create! After this complete *volte face*, Elliot, perhaps, changed his mind as to the moral necessity of his patron's resignation.

WHAT a relief it is to turn from the dreary pages of Gleig to the charming sketches of contemporary life we find in the lives of the First Earl of Minto and of Hugo Elliot. After all the dexterous diplomacies of the men of those times how pleasant are their affectations, and the little touches of human nature which rescue the hard heartedness of the XVIII century from mental fatigue. Old Sir Gilbert Elliot on more occasions proved a serious political enemy to Lord North, but the young Elliots were on the best of terms socially with the Norths. We get a vision of a "little private party" at which Franky North "personated the young Lady Sutherland, just arrived from the North, and so

well that your friend Cadogan was quite taken in, and made up to the fortune, till all of a sudden Franky gave a great Westminster hallo, to poor Cadogan's extreme confusion." Imagine the seriousness of Eden and Lord North when speaking of Hugh's illness. "He and Lord North took it into their heads to tell me your illness was cured by a large hump growing upon your back higher than your head; and they talked so much about it that they frightened me out of my senses. They had a good laugh at me, because I said I would rather have it myself, or that any of my other brothers should have it, for they were not so handsome; besides that Gilbert being an elder brother, might put his councillor's wig upon it, Alick might cover it with Indian gold, Bob's gown would hide it, but Hugh's hump would never do." The touches of the maccaronis, *coiffures à la légume*,* "Horsman's Coffee-house, Oxford," "sailing peacocks but insufferable coquettes," I am afraid, distract the mind when it should be in pursuit of a doubtful *cui bono* through the dust and dryness of obscure diplomatic intrigues.

To Alexander Elliot, while in England, Warren Hastings, in the first two months of the year 1777, sent a masterly exposition of the policy he proposed to adopt, and for the execution of which he ultimately sought to make use of Elliot's services. This policy it will be seen anticipates the Subsidiary Treaties System which Wellesley carried into far reaching effect. Although this letter is lengthy and has been given in Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, I make bold to reprint it in this place.

TO MR. ALEXANDER ELLIOT.

FORT WILLIAM, 12th January 1777.

MY DEAR ELLIOT,—This letter will comprise our connected subject; and to render this intelligible, I shall take it up from a very early period.

After the famous defeat of the Maharattas at Ponniput, Sudaba, the second officer in command, and the first cousin of Ragonaut Row or Rajoba, the late Peshwar and competitor of the Ministers at Poona, was missing, and supposed to have been slain. About three years after, a man disfigured with wounds made his appearance under the name of Sudaba, with a small force; was attacked and defeated, made prisoner, and exposed as an impostor by the ruling Peshwar. From that time he continued a prisoner till the month of April last, when he escaped from his confinement, collected a considerable army, and even made himself master of all the country called Concan, which lies between the hills and the sea. On the 27th of October, he ventured on an engagement with the forces of the

* "The Heads in France are now higher than ever, and England follows apace. Two or three ladies have sported such a quantity of feathers, blonde, flowers, artificial cherries, plums, strawberries, grass, radishes (which is called *coiffures à la légume*), cauliflowers, etc., etc., all at once upon the same head, that it has frightened the least the adventurous part of the sex."

actual government, was totally routed, put to sea in open vessel, and sailed to the island of Bombay, where he demanded protection. Unfortunately for him, the Governor and second in command were both absent at Salsette and Mr. Draper, who had charge of the Fort, sending two persons of inferior rank to receive him, the devoted fugitive construed this into an insult, and in a fit of ill-time pride instantly departed, threw himself into the hands of a Maharatta chief named Ragojee Augria, who delivered him up a prisoner to the Ministers at Poona. Ragonaut Row was more fortunate, escaped to Bombay, where he was received and probably continues there. It is said that Mr. Hornby, on the first news of Sudaba's confinement, sent a deputation to Ragojee Augria to demand him, with a declaration of war in case of a refusal. Such at least is the representation of this affair which we received from Poona, where both this measure and the asylum granted to Ragoba are treated as acts of hostility against the Maharatta State and direct infringements of the treaty. We too have taken up the charges as such, and sent peremptory orders to the Presidency of Bombay to dismiss Ragonaut Row. In the meanwhile Colonel Upton continues, notwithstanding our repeated orders for his recall, at Poona, whether by his free consent or by constraint is uncertain. The style both of his letters and of those of the Peshwar seem to confirm the common report of his being detained there by force. This is not the only suspicious circumstance. All the letters from Poona, both before and since the ratification of the treaty, are filled with reproaches for the hostile acts which preceded it, and even strong indications that the authors of them did not regard the treaty as binding but on the persons only who signed it. Their last letters, which were written immediately after the overthrow of Sudaba, contain a demand on behalf of the king of Tanjore, whose name never before appeared in any papers of their correspondence or negotiation with Colonel Upton. These are, at the best, but doubtful symptoms; and added to the indisposition which the presidency of Bombay have all along shown to the late treaty I portend but a short duration to the peace concluded by it.

By the overthrow of Sudaba, the internal troubles which have so long disturbed the Maharatta State appear to have been so far appeased as to leave them at full leisure to promote remote undertakings. The same letters that brought us the news of this event also informed us that the ministers had set on foot an expedition against Hyder Ally. By other channels we learn that Nizam Ally Caun and Moodajee Boosla, the Raja of Berar, have been invited and have agreed to join their forces on this occasion.

So sudden a revival and reunion of the powers of this great empire, and so sudden an application of them immediately on the close of a long civil war, indicate a degree of vigour in its constitution which cannot fail to alarm the friends of the Company, if the subsequent appearances shall warrant this conclusion. I think they will not. but persuade myself that the present conjuncture is no less favourable than any of the past (always excepting this ill-fated treaty with Ragooba) for advancing the interests of the Company, and extending their influence and connections. I will tell you why.

In the first place, a confederacy formed between the Peshwa, the Subadar of Deccan, who has plundered the Maharattas of a great part of the Poona state, and the Chief of Berar, its nominal vassal, all possessing mutual claims on each other, and swayed by opposite interests, cannot hold long together. In the second, the Government of Poona is weak in itself, by want of constitutional authority in those who possess the rule of it, and by want of unanimity amongst themselves. Nana Maraba Furneess, one of their principal members, has openly separated himself from the rest. Their chief, Succuram Babboo, is old and infirm; and both he and Nana Furneess, who are the only parties to the treaty lately concluded with us in the name of the Maharatta state, lately demanded and received

passports from the Government to retire to Benares, with the avowed design of passing the remainder of their lives there in devotion. This design, though probably suggested only by the personal dangers to which they were exposed by the rapid successes of Sudaba, must diminish the confidence and respect which are the natural attendants of a fixed and regular authority. And thirdly, the Government of Berar possesses in it the seeds of civil discord, which are at this time ready to spring up on the first occasion that can favour their growth. This is a subject that requires me to be more explicit than I have been on others, and this too I must take up *ab ovo*.

Ragoojee Boosla, the Raja of Berar, the same person who invaded Bengal, and subjected it to the Chaut in the time of the Nabab Alliverdy Cawn, dying left four sons, Jannoojee, Shabajee, Moodajee and Bimbajee. Jannoojee succeeded him. He having no child, adopted the son of Moodajee, who was called by the name of his grand-father, Ragoojee. On the death of Jannoojee, Shabajee, the second brother, succeeded to the Government, but held it in the name of his nephew, the legal heir. This was the cause of continual dissensions between the two brothers—Shabajee holding the Government in right of primogeniture, Moodajee claiming it on behalf of his own son, though the legal affinity between them was changed by his elder brother's adoption. In the late dissensions between Ragoonaut Row and the ministers of Poona, Shabajee took part with the former, and Moodajee with the latter : but their own affairs calling them home before these were decided they came to an open rupture. Shabajee was slain, and his brother assumed the Government in his stead.

Here I must go back to relate another transaction more immediately connected with the subject of this letter. Shabajee, a little before his return to Berar, sent a Vakeel, named Beneram Pundit, to Calcutta, with a letter containing professions of friendship and a desire to be on terms of alliance with this Government. I thought this an occasion not to be slighted, and returned such an answer as was most proper to encourage Shabajee without expressing too interested a solicitude to meet them ; and I sent the Vakeel back big with the project of uniting the province of Berar to this Government on terms similar to those which had been formed with Sujah Dowla by the treaty concluded at Benares, and which I may venture to say were such as afforded the Company every advantage that could be derived from such an alliance without derogating from the dignity or credit of our ally.

While Beneram was on his return, the revolution took place which I have mentioned above ; and as he was known to be the confidential servant of Shabajee, some time elapsed before he ventured to return to his new master. Being at length, however, invited to come he went and was well received. Moodajee read the letters, and answered them as addressed to himself ; and after sometime, thought proper to send him such in his former character, with handsome professions, but general, and with no declared object or instructions. A very friendly, and in some sort confidential correspondence, however, has continued between us ever since. From Beneram Pundit I learned that the same feuds which formerly divided the two brothers while living, are now likely to break out between Moodajee and his son, who is now about nineteen years of age, and begins to look upon his father as the usurper of his rights. In these sentiments he has been confirmed by a man who has been the successive minister of the three brothers, named Dewangar Pundit, who finds himself of too little consequence with his present master and naturally concludes that he shall acquire a greater ascendant on the mind of his young pupil, if he should succeed in obtaining his advancement to the possession of the Government. By the intrigues of this man, Nizam Ally has been induced to invite Moodajee Boosla to his court, for the purpose of concerting measures for their common interests, and to send his Dewan if he should be prevented from

attending himself. To the last proposition Moodajee has consented, as he mentions in a letter I have recently received from him; and I understand that it is proposed that Ragujee shall accompany him with the secret design of gaining the support of Nizam Ally in the prosecution of the projects against Moodajee. Whatever may be the issue of these measures, a proper attention to the circumstances as they arise might put it easily in the power of this Government, were it duly authorised, to convert them to the advantage of the Company without any sacrifice of their faith or hazard of their interests.

THIS letter is in itself a most remarkable testimony to the confidence reposed by Warren Hastings in his young friend. It also introduces us to the subject of the diplomatic mission in the course of which Elliot was to die. Here, for the present, I must break my story of Alexander Elliot's career, I have left him hastening back to India in search of a mysterious French adventurer sent out by M. Sartines to stir up strife between the Maratha durbars and the English Governments at Bombay and Calcutta. Elliot followed up a false scent. The adventurer was in reality a Chevalier dé St. Lubin and not as he supposed a Chevalier Montaigul. I have studied the unpublished documents preserved at the Imperial Records, but, as at the time these lines must go to press I have not as yet received permission to make use of their contents; I must, for the present at least, end the story here. As, however, in a letter that was published many years ago, Hastings makes mention of Elliot's sensational seizure of the escaping French chiefs of Chandernagore and Balasore at Cuttack, I may here say that their names were Jean Baptiste Chevalier and James Sanson. I should also wish to add that since the greater part of these notes were in print, an article embodying some information concerning Elliot, which I had imparted to a friend, has appeared in the *Pioneer* and been reprinted in the *Statesman*. The letter in which this information was given was obviously not of a private nature, and it was indeed written to be shown to any one interested in the subject; but I cannot help feeling rather sorry that the article, although written with a literary charm I cannot myself supply, should have robbed these poor notes of much of their freshness and given to the public an account which a little more research could have so easily enriched

I HAVE recently been able to procure for the Society a copy of Henry Verelst's *View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*. This copy is of exceptional interest as it at one time belonged to Dr. George Smith and before him to Archibald Swinton and is annotated by the latter. I extract the following from the *Statesman* :—

ARCHIBALD SWINTON.

THE FOUNDER OF MESSRS. BURN & CO.

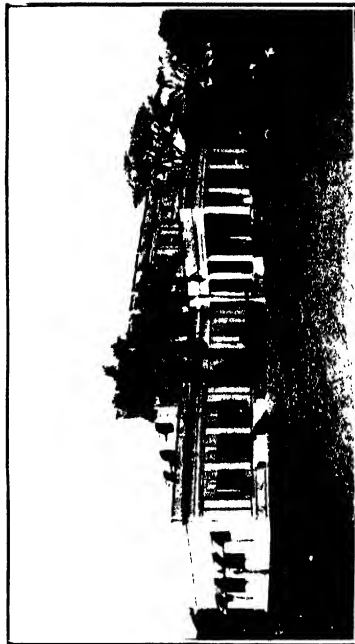
It will be of interest, "H.B." writes in *Burn's Monthly Magazine*, to note something of history of the founder of Burn & Co. Captain Swinton's family can be traced back to



ELIZA FAWCETT
From an Engraving of a Portrait by A. H. Owen



HASTINGS' HOUSE.
(Taken by C. E. Hooper, Esq.)



HASTINGS' HOUSE.
(Photo by C. E. Hooper, Esq.)

1076 to that ancient Scotch family, "The Swinton's of that ilk" Barony of Swintons, County Berwick, in the eleventh century, during the reigns of Macbeth and Malcolm III.

This family had many illustrious members, but Archibald Swinton, about whom I now write, began life as a surgeon's mate on an East Indiaman and went to India in or about the year 1752. On his arrival he quitted that service for the medical department of the army, which he joined in the field. He was thus occupied for seven years till he obtained the rank of Surgeon. In the meantime his gallantry had attracted the notice of Clive and Carnac, and, at their instigation, he exchanged, in 1759, his medical appointment for an ensigncy in the Company's service. He was made Lieutenant in 1761 and Captain in 1763.

Captain Swinton was at a later period Aide-de-camp to General Carnac, but it was for his services in an independent command that he received in 1764 the commendations of the Governor in Council of Bengal. In letters sent to the Court of Directors, he frequently gained particular notice as an officer of extraordinary merit. He commanded the troops on the expedition to Meckley and on being ordered to return to Dacca when the troubles began, contributed greatly by his activity and bravery to the recovery of the factory and reduction of the city. At the siege of Monghyr, he received a wound in the arm, but this did not prevent his proceeding to Patna with the army, where he received another wound which occasioned the loss of his right arm. Captain Swinton further signalised his stay in India by raising a Company of Sepoys which long bore his name. He also held some high military appointments, and for his knowledge of Persian and his acquaintance with the language and manners of the Indian races, Captain Swinton was shown special favour and regard for his zeal in the service. His portrait in this capacity occupies a place in a large historical picture by West. This picture is now in the possession of the Earl of Windsor. Captain Swinton before returning home to Scotland in 1766, evidently in conjunction with Mr. Burn, started this business. Thus 146 years ago the foundation of Burn & Co. was commenced, and has since developed into an Engineering and Ship-building Company now the largest in the East.

WHILE I have been at work in recovering the story of Alexander Elliot, I have also been engaged in seeing through the press a reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India*, and I have been delighted to find how, in one or two places, the two subjects worked the one into the other. The French diplomatist, after whom Elliot went on a wild goose chase through Egypt and over the Red Sea, Mrs. Fay met with at Mocha on her way out. I have not the least doubt that the M. Chevalier who underwent those terrible experiences in the Egyptian desert which Mrs. Fay recounts was one of the two chiefs of French Factories whom Elliot caused to be arrested at Cuttack and sent *en parole* to Calcutta. These two chiefs were Jean Baptiste Chevalier of Chandernagore, and James Sanson (not Law as we read in the *Great Proconsul*) of Balasore. Mrs. Fay's descriptions of persons and places in old Calcutta have been quoted again and again, but it is a thousand pities that not even a single writer has drawn attention to the unfailing interest of her book from first page to the last. In her earliest letters she gives us an account of a journey from Paris to Leghorn partly in a chaise and partly on horseback. Her economies were minute, for she records her disgust

with an unreasonable hotel keeper who charged half a crown a night for a bedroom. Mrs. Fay preferred the inns where guests slept in the fashion recorded at the close of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, and at four *sous* a night, not for a room, but for one bed out of possibly six. The most remarkable thing is that, although Mrs. Fay has much to say as to her discomforts, yet she was making her way through France at the time when England and France were at war. She suffered much, but her escapes were on the whole even more remarkable than her sufferings.

THAT her book should have remained so long out of print may excite the surprise of its present readers. We begin with a journey across France at a time when that country was at war with England, and at Paris we catch a brief but brilliant vision of Marie Antoinette. Despite the war, Paris is impregnated with Anglo-mania. Then, after that marvellous economical trip across France and over Mont Cenis to Leghorn, comes the story of the anxious passage across Egypt. What could be more harrowing than the story of the Chevalier brothers? At Mocha we meet with the Chevalier St. Lubin, and "the elegant manners, superior information, and sumptuous style" of that gentleman induced Mrs. Fay to plead his cause against a wiser, the Mr. Fuller who would feign have arrested that arch intriguer. Buried away in a ponderous volume of *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (Maratha Series, Vol. I.)* will be found the story of St. Lubin's ventures at the Court of Poona and in Mr. Forrest's *Selections from State Papers preserved in the Foreign Office (1772-1785)* will be found the record of Sir Philip Francis' mad attempt to represent St. Lubin's Mission as devoid of importance. Well might Mrs. Fay write later on: "Little did I think when pleading the cause of the Chevalier de St. Lubin at Mocha that he had been raising a storm whose effects would involve us so materially." Alas! what poor Mrs. Fay admired in others she clearly overmuch admired in herself—that "superior information." If her estimate of the baseness of her fellow passengers may finely be discounted by 50 per cent. those gentlefolk would still remain contemptible but as one reads her lines and at the same time reads between them, one is tempted to think that too self-conscious "superior information," combined with an economy which goes to bed at an inn at four *sous* a night, is not the best calculated to make friends. Not even her sufferings at Calicut could win for her her husband's heart. He was a wild wild Irishman—an obstinate dissipated man on his way out to an impossible land for those who seek "another chance:" his long-suffering wife was a Plutarch in petticoats, an English Madame Roland, not without the talent for rhetoric yet

devoid of a facility for grammar. But surely, when we read the story of the severe suffering of this little body of British travellers, how sad we cannot but feel when we find that here when social rivalry had stepped in and not even adversity could make its proverbially strange companions. The story of the imprisonment of the English at Cochin may claim to be at least as interesting as Mrs. Fay's prattle about Belvedere and the "Harmonic."

THE reader will note that, despite Mrs. Fay's ill-fortunes, she had at least an increasing sense of the guidance of Providence. In the earlier chapters of her book she does not dignify that word with a capital letter ; but she does so latter on. It is, however, curious to note that she does not record the fact that the *Grosvenor*, on which she had so much hoped to be able to make her return to England, met with a terrible fate off the East African Coast. On board this ship, were Mrs. Fay's friends the Hoseas : they had taken under their charge Sir Robert Chambers' little six-year-old son, while they had left their own new-born baby with Lady Chambers. The separation from her little grandson had broken the tender heart of dear brave old Mrs. Chambers, who had accompanied her son, Sir Robert, to India, and after the birth of his first-born simply lived on in the child's life. Let Miss Bletchynden tell us the rest of the story :—

"In due course the *Grosvenor* sailed from Madras ; five months later she had arrived off the east coast of Africa, and there, on the 3rd of August, 1782, she was cast away, at a point near Durban, on the shore of what was then an unexplored country, inhabited by savages, and five hundred miles from the nearest civilized settlement, a town of the Dutch, who then held the Cape. The survivors of the wreck numbered no fewer than one hundred and thirty-five persons, Europeans and natives. The officers and passengers mentioned in the accounts given in the papers of the time were the Commander, Captain Coxon,* and his three officers, Messrs. Logie, Shaw and Beall ; the purser, Mr. Hay ; the chief's wife, Mrs. Logie, and passengers Colonel and Mrs. James, Mr. and Mrs. Hosea with their daughter ; two other girls, Miss Dennis and Miss Wilmot, little Thomas Chambers and another child, and Captain Adair, Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Newman, besides two native women, servants to Mrs. Hosea and Mrs. Logie. "Cast among savages, who grew ever bolder and more threatening, hampered by the sick, the injured, and the weakly—cut off from every prospect of escape by sea, the unfortunate castaways essayed the impossible task of marching through an unknown and hostile country, in the hope of reaching the Dutch Settlement five hundred miles away. Starting in a body,

* This very morning an autograph letter of Captain Coxon has been lying in my hands.—W. K. F.

they soon broke up into parties, the stongest hurrying forward trusting to be able to reach the goal and bring help back to their weaker companions. Gradually their number dwindled ; disease, privation and exposures destroyed those who escaped the hands of the savages ; and, in the end, all who escaped that wrecked ship's company eighteen alone survived to return to their friends. Of these six men succeeded in reaching the Dutch Settlement after a perilous journey of one hundred and seventeen days : and three sailors, seven lascars, and the two women servants were rescued, nearly two years later, by the first of the several expeditions which were sent out at different times by the Dutch to search for any of the survivors. With the rescue of these eighteen persons, the story of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* closed in contemporary records, but, as years passed on, again and again came strange rumours of Englishwomen being seen in the Kaffir kraals, dressed in Kaffir fashion, and refusing to leave their savage surroundings on the plea that they had become contented mothers of families and were no longer willing or able to return to their old lives. During the Kaffir war of 1835, a curious incident partly raised the veil of doubt and mystery which enwrapped the fate of the lost lady passengers. A tribe of native warriors offered their services as "brothers" to the English against their own countrymen, the Kaffirs, saying that their tribe, which numbered six hundred souls, were descendants of the English ladies who had been wrecked in the *Grosvenor* fifty years before, and now, at this day, that tribe stands out distinct from its fellows. And when men visit the rugged coast of Zululand, and, looking down through the clear waters, see the weed-grown guns and iron that mark the spot where lay the wreck, they tell again the story of the lost East Indiaman, and their thoughts rest in pity on the shadowy pathetic figures of those Englishwomen who, dead to their former world and all that they held most dear, lived out their lives as wives and mothers among an alien and savage race."

It is curious that Mrs. Fay has not a word to say on the score of the disaster which befell the *Grosvenor*, and it is still more curious to find that, although her kind patrons the Chambers were still in Calcutta when she visited our City for the second time (February 1796), she has nothing to tell us about them. Of Chambers and his friendship with Goldsmith and Dr. Samuel Johnson an account has been given by Dr. Busteed in his *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. Of Lady Chambers Dr. Johnson wrote : " Chambers is either married or almost married to Miss Wilton, a girl of sixteen, exquisitely beautiful, whom he has, with his lawyer's tongue, persuaded to take her chance with him in the East." She was the daughter of Joseph Wilton, a Royal Academician, and with Miss Meyer she had sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds for his *Hebe*. A reference to her will be found in *Hartley House*.

IT is generally admitted by Calcutta antiquarians that the "Belvedere" at which Mrs. Fay visited Mrs. Warren Hastings is "Hastings House" and not the present "Belvedere"—the palace of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal. I have to thank my friend, Mr. C. F. Hooper, for the two views, one an exterior and one an interior of Hastings House, which accompany these "Notes." Much patient industry would be required to decide how much of the present Hastings House was in existence in the days of Mrs. Fay.

THE Reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* will very shortly be ready for distribution to the subscribers. The volume will be the first of our Society's series of Reprints, and it is much to be hoped that it will meet with a sale calculated to encourage others of the Society to go further afield. The price of the book will be only three and a half rupees. Orders for copies should be registered with Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Government Place, Calcutta.

IN 1891, the old house known as Lord Clive's at Dum-Dum was the Volunteer Head Quarters. To the *Third Annual Report of the Presidency Volunteer Reserve Battalion* for that year, R. C. Sterndale contributed the following note :—

"Dum-Dum House, or as it is sometimes called by the natives, the killa (the fort), is a building of some historic interest; it is probably one of the oldest existing buildings in Bengal, as it was in existence, though not in its present form, before the sack of Calcutta by the Nawab Suraj-ud-daula in 1756.

"The first mention of it occurs in Orme's *History of the War in Bengal*; he states that when Clive marched through the Nawab's Camp at Sealdah, on the morning of the 8th February, 1757, in a dense fog, he crossed the Dum-Dum Road: 'this road,' says the historian, 'leads to Dum-Dum, an old building stationed on a mound.'

"The Cantonment and Station of Dum-Dum were not established until nearly fifty years later, but the Bengal Artillery used to come out to Dum-Dum to practise on the plain, when the officers used to occupy the old building, while the men were camped in the grounds.

"The building appears to have originally been a one-storied blockhouse, so constructed as to secure a flank fire along each face, with underground chambers or cellars, the walls were of great thickness from four to eight feet thick, while they were further strengthened by massive buttresses, between which the walls were apparently loopholed for musketry. No authentic account of the origin of this building can be found, but it was probably either a Dutch or Portuguese Factory. The native tradition is that the mound on

which it stands was thrown up by a spirit in a single night, and to this day the house and grounds have the reputation of being haunted. Some time after the Battle of Plassey, Lord Clive made the old building his country-house, altering the lower story, so as to destroy its character as a defensive position, and building a fine upper storey ; the grounds were also laid out with great expense and taste in the then prevailing formal Dutch style. Bishop Heber, nearly seventy years ago, speaks of this house as then presenting a venerable appearance, and being surrounded by very pretty walks and shrubberies. No remains of these now exist though the lines of the old walks and garden paths may be traced through the thin turf in the dry summer. From its elevated position and the massiveness of its structure, the old house would be still capable of a stout defence against anything but artillery."

WALTER K. FIRMINER,



Note on Khijiri and Hijili.

BY H. G. REAKS, ASSISTANT RIVER SURVEYOR.*

Reprinted here by kind permission of His Honor The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

[The historical details are chiefly from *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, by C. R. Wilson, and the *Calcutta Gazette*.]



THE inconspicuous little village of Hijili hidden in a grove at the junction of the Rusulpur and Hooghly Rivers, 85 miles by boat from Calcutta, is perhaps one of the least known of the many places associated with early English history in India. Yet when "John Company" was striving for a foothold in Bengal, this village, the scene of a hard fought battle, possessed an importance which the uninformed casual visitor of to-day would scarcely understand. The gate of Bengal, as it was in Charnock's time, was situated in a fertile country, and was by reason of its important salt manufactories a source of rich revenue to the Mogul whose appanage it was. A small fort commanded the river, and a mosque, the shrine of Masnad Ali Shah, the first Muhammadan ruler of the place, was, as it is to this day, the chief point of interest in this village. History reports that on the approach of the victorious army of Akbar, Masnad Ali, an independent ruler, had buried himself alive, leaving to his son the repugnant duty of surrendering. This happened in the early part of the 16th century, and the scene of this self-immolation has ever since been held as especially sacred. There is a legend current in the neighbourhood that, in the great cyclone of 1864, when the storm-wave swept inland and inundated the country for miles around, the sea miraculously failing to invade the small tank attached to the mosque, the water was found sweet when the storm subsided and saved numbers from dying of thirst, and Hindus and Muhammadans alike now regard the shrine with the greatest veneration. Considerable changes have from time to time taken place in the geographical features of the country. In 1687, when the chief events connected with its history took place, the principal approach for ships to the Hooghly lay close alongside this shore. Vessels of deep draft apparently still loaded and unloaded at Balasore further down the coast, though the Company had inaugurated the survey of the river in 1668, and the

* The charts and plans which accompany this official paper we hope to be able to reproduce in our next issue.—EDITOR, B. P. & F.

first British ship, the *Falcon*, had sailed up the river in 1679. Opposite Hijili, on the west bank of Rusulpur River, the village of Dariapur nestled in a range of sand-hills which still stretch down the coast forming a natural protection for the country against inundation. Four miles above Hijili lay Cowcolly, where later in 1810 was built the first lighthouse on the Hooghly, and three miles beyond that a grove of tall casuarina trees, which even to this day forms a prominent land-mark, showed the position of Khijiri, destined later to rise into a station of some importance, and finally in our time to sink again into insignificance. Above Khijiri, the Khijiri River or Kunjapur Khāl flowing westward met the Rusulpur River, and the Cowcolly River running from near their junction out to the Hooghly bisected this tract of land into two large islands. The country was "exceedingly pleasant and fruitful, having great store of wild hogs, deer, wild buffalo and tigers." To-day a strip of jungle surrounding Hijili contains a few deer and an occasional leopard. These are practically the only large game to be found on the western shore of the Hooghly. The Khijiri River has shrunk into a narrow creek called the Talpati Khāl, and nearly all traces of the Cowcolly River have been lost in the paddy-fields outside the sea dyke below the lighthouse.

In 1686, after the successful attack on and retirement from Hooghly, the English ships were in full possession of the river, but had no proper base on shore. Charnock was waiting at Sutanuti, which he later selected as the site for the settlement which has grown into modern Calcutta, for the fulfilment of the promises of protection and redress made by the Nawab of Bengal. An ally had been found in the owner of the country round Hijili, who was in conflict with Shayista Khan the Nawab, and when the latter, after delaying to gain time for preparation, flatly repudiated his promises, the English fleet in February 1687 sailed down the river to take possession of Hijili, destroying, in passing, the fort of Thana just below the present Botanical Gardens. Hijili was occupied without trouble, and Charnock set to work immediately to make himself secure in the town, and in the meanwhile Balasore was seized and sacked. Things however now began to take a more unfavourable turn. Malaria and the heat worked havoc in Charnock's small force of 420 men; provisions began to grow scarce; his native ally seceded; and the enemy who had been driven out of the fort, kept up a bombardment from a battery on the other side of the river, which two successful attacks failed to silence completely. The small fleet of sloops had to keep constantly patrolling round the islands to prevent surprises, and to keep the natives from crossing to the mainland with their grain and cattle. To make the situation more desperate, the army of the Nawab, twelve thousand strong, under Abdu-s Samad, arrived in the middle of May and commenced hostilities with great activity. A large force was established at Dariapur and a powerful battery there drove the ships out

of the Rusulpur and threatened the landing place which had to be protected by a battery of two guns. Charnock had also mounted guns on a masonry building lying between the fort of Hijili and the landing place, to secure his line of retreat to the ships. The necessary guards for these drew away from his small body, men of whom he was sadly in need to defend his main position. His force had been thinned down to barely 100 men capable of bearing arms, and only one Lieutenant and four Sergeants remained of the forty Officers who came to Hijili. The fort itself was but a small house surrounded by a wall, and when on the 28th May a body of the enemy, 700 cavalry and 200 gunners, infuriated with *blang*, crossed the Rusulpur at the place still used for a ferry and swept down from the north through the forest on to the town, it seemed impossible for the small knot of emaciated men, fighting for bare life in the fort, to escape annihilation. In that hour the future existence of Calcutta trembled in the balance, and without Charnock to guide them in the later troublous times, who can say how the fortunes of the English in Bengal would have prospered? But with the enemy in possession of the village and even within the entrenchments, Charnock held grimly on and at last with night-fall Abdu-s Samad's force drew off. The chief attack had failed, but for four days, while Charnock made preparations to evacuate, a constant harassing fight had to be sustained. It was an opportune moment for the display of "God Almighty's good providence which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company," and it was signalised by the arrival from England, on the 2nd of May, of a reinforcement of 70 men under Captain Denham. The enemy was beaten in a counter attack, and in the respite given by this success, Charnock had recourse to a simple expedient for multiplying his reinforcements in the imagination of Abdu-s Samad. Scattered inconspicuously in twos and threes and by divers ways, the men were sent out of the fort, and assembling at the landing place, marched back again with colours flying and drums beating. This manœuvre was repeated till it seemed to the enemy as if a stream of reinforcements was pouring into the fort. The stratagem was attended with wonderful success, and on the 4th of June Abdu-s Samad made overtures of peace, which was concluded on the 10th of June on the basis of the fulfilment of the promises made at Sutanuti by the Nawab. Charnock left Hijili to the Mogul Commander and proceeded up to Ulabaria. As thanks for his magnificent defence, Charnock received the following letter from the Court in England, part of which is quoted above :—"It is of vanity to fancy that your prudence or subtlety procured at last those good terms you obtained of Abdu-s Samad when you and your forces were by your errors aforesaid reduced to that low condition you were in upon the Island of Hijili. It was not your wit or contrivance, but God Almighty's good providence, which hath always graciously superintended the affairs of this Company."

Since that date Hijili has gradually decayed, and the fort having disappeared, tradition in the neighbourhood has merely crystallized round the sacrifice of Masnad Ali, of which the shrine is a concrete memorial.

With the rise of Calcutta, Khijiri being a fairly sheltered anchorage at the head of open sea navigation, became an important station. The journey up the river to Calcutta was considered too tedious and dangerous of the larger vessels, and these accordingly lay in the roads at Khijiri, and there unshipped and shipped cargo and passengers who were brought to and from Calcutta in sloops. An Agent's house and Port Office were built, and a town grew up rapidly with taverns for the accommodation of passengers waiting for their vessels. The following advertisement from the *Calcutta Gazette* indicates how considerable the place had become by the end of the 18th century :—" For sale by auction on the 29th May 1792, a large upper-roomed house and premises situate at Kedgerree containing a hall, four bed-rooms and an open verandah standing on eight bighas of ground more or less." Communication with Calcutta in those days was maintained entirely by boats. Fast rowing pinnaces went out from Khijiri to meet incoming vessels and receive the earliest news from Europe for the various newspapers which flourished in Calcutta, and naturally there were exciting races to town to secure the first publication of the news. Later a string of semaphores, which transmitted messages by the movement of arms, was established. This, of course, was entirely superseded by the introduction of the electric telegraph in 1852, but some of the towers may still be seen on the banks of the river as at Brul, Dhaja and Hooghly Point.

Communication with Calcutta must have been fairly easy in 1784, as an advertisement on the 19th of August of that year states that " John Lambe, a midshipman belonging to the *Berrington*, eloped from the said ship at Kedgerree about the 20th of July last, and soon after was seen in Calcutta."

In 1836, Custom House Officers boarded incoming ships at Khijiri and left them there on their outward journey. The channel continued along the shore till 1864 when it shifted to mid-river, and since then Khijiri anchorage and channel have steadily deteriorated. With the desertion of the vessels, Khijiri immediately lost importance, and a tidal semaphore and an occasional bazar are the only things of living interest in the place.

There are at the present time two large brick buildings, one a Public Works Department bungalow and the other used as a Post Office through which a daily service by *dhak* runners is maintained with Kukrahati and Diamond Harbour. The chief historical attraction is a well preserved cemetery enclosed within a wall situated at the back of the Post Office, and till quite recently the numerous tombs, some of considerable size and striking appearance, showed the past importance of the town. A few years ago the

earliest inscription which could be found was on a detached and broken slab dated 1800, and to the memory of the boatswain of a ship; but some of the graves without inscriptions were probably of an earlier date.

At present there are 33 tombs, 21 with inscriptions, the most ancient of which is as follows:—

To the Memory of
MR. NIEL MCINNES,
late midshipman of the
Honourable Company's
ship *Dunira*.
Died 10th September 1818.
Age 16 years.

Another stone bears the following :—

Sacred
To the Memory of
CHARLOTTE ANN,
the young daughter of late
Reverend Thomas Bracken,
of Ichenham, Middlesex,
and of St. James', West Minster,
Who departed this life
On board the H. C. E. I. ship
The George the Fourth
On the 12th November 1820.
Age 18 years and 11 months.

This monument was erected by her brother
Thomas Bracken, Esq.,
of the firm of Messrs. Alexander & Co.,
Calcutta and Enysign Chase Bracken
of the H. C. Military service,
whose expectations of welcoming a
beloved sister to India were miserably
mocked by receiving only her remains
and feelings of whose . . .

In performing this last sad office of
affection can be understood by those alone
whom hope has thus flattered and thus
disappointed.

In those days before Darjeeling and other hill sanatariums existed, invalids were often sent for a change to the Sandheads, though the advantages were not always obvious, as is shown by the following extract from an editorial in the *Indian Gazette* of May 1823 recommending Bircool on the coast below Hijili as a health station:—"We have often doubted the propriety of sending persons in debilitated health on board of a Pilot schooner to be tossed to and fro at the Sandheads. Yet we hardly know what otherwise is to be done in these cases, unless indeed valetudinarians could be conveniently sent to Pooree (Jaggernath) or the Neilgharry Hills. Both these places, however, are too distant from Calcutta to be available in urgent cases. When a person is sent to the Sandheads for his health, it must be for one of two things or both—the sea air and the motion. In many cases the motion is by far too violent. In a shore station again, one may have the sea air and all the various necessities of life only to be got on land; and if the exercise of sailing is requisite, it may be taken in a boat, provided the weather answer."

There is a place on the sea coast not far from Hijili called Bircool which thirty or forty years ago was reckoned, we believe, the "Brighton of Calcutta."

Some of the invalids sent for a sea trip to the Sandheads failed to recover, and were buried at Khijiri, and one tomb there has the following epitaph:—

To the Memory of
EMELIA,
Wife of Edward Maxwell Esq.,
Judge and Magistrate of Dinageporc,
Who departed this life,
Aged 28 years and 2 months,
After a painful illness of many months,
On the 26th July, 1822,
On board the *Earl Balcarras Indiaman*
At the New Anchorage.

The sanguine hope of a husband who adored her
That the dread calamity
Would be averted by the effects of the sea air
Proved vain immediately on the return
of the ship
Owing to the loss of her rudder after an
escape from danger.
When sorrow weeps o'er Virtue's Sacred Dust
Our tears become us and our grief is just :

Such are the tears he shed who grateful pays
 This last sad Tribute of his Love and Praise ;
 Who mourns the best of wives and friends combined
 Where female softness met a manly mind :
 Mourns but not murmurs, weeps but not despairs,
 Feels as a man, but as a Christian bears.

In front of the Post Office a large gun, spiked, which was formerly the signal gun of the place, may be seen close by the remains of the old Signal Mast. Besides these, ~~the~~ ruined well and some traces of the ruins of houses are all that remain of the once flourishing town of Khijiri.

The coast line has suffered severely at various times from cyclones. In 1737, a storm-wave swept over the country, causing great destruction in lives and property. Again, in June 1823, the land for 6 or 7 miles was inundated and the beach was strewn with wreckage, after the gale. Ten years later another cyclone caused extensive damage to the whole stretch of country, and destroyed 14 years' work of the Saugor Island Cultivation Society on the other side of the river. The Khijiri Bazar was washed away, and a "Mr. Horton's house at Kedgere was riddled through by the water breaking during the brunt of the gale from 4 to 5 feet over the lower floor." Then followed the cyclone of 1842 with a storm-wave that again swept over the country, and finally in October 1864 the historic Calcutta cyclone inundated the country and caused tremendous destruction. There is a marble slab above the front door of the Cowcolly Light House showing the height to which the water rose, which is $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the level of the land. The *Salween* survey ship was driven on shore, and when the storm abated found the Khijiri Post Office practically under her bowsprit.

Within recent years the cyclone of 26th November 1901 did considerable damage to the country. A great portion of the land outside the sea dyke was under water, a country boat being afterwards observed supported in a small tree about a quarter of a mile inland.

In the 17th century, there were two approaches to the River Hooghly, one from Balasore along the western shore and the other from Balasore across the Braces to Saugor. The latter then ran across the river and united with the former channel just below Khijiri, where there was deep water and an anchorage. The western channel gradually shoaled, and as will be seen in the chart of 1810, by Lieutenant Court, the main passage for vessels curved in a large sweep from Saugor to Khijiri, and then across the river again to Mud Point.

The anchorage for vessels was in an embayment in the shore opposite the Post Office and just above Khijiri Point, where the semaphore now stands. In 1864, a deeper route opened in mid-river, and since then the main channel

has shifted once to the eastern shore and has recently returned to its mid-river position. When the current abandoned the western shore, Khijiri anchorage became a sort of silting ground and gradually disappeared. The shore crept out till the embayment was filled in and a regular coast line was obtained. The change will be appreciated by a glance at the chart of 1907. There is now dry land where vessels used to anchor in 20 and 21 feet of water, and till quite recently, when it fell down, an old wooden tide-gauge, which formerly stood at the water's edge, presented a forlorn appearance three-fourths of a mile inshore. The channel north of Khijiri will be seen by the charts also to have altered a great deal. Formerly it struck from Khijiri right across the river to Mud Point, and then ran up the eastern shore to Diamond Harbour. Now-a-days it runs up mid-river till abreast Mud Point, and then curves in to the western bank along which it continues till it reaches Kulpee.

The Kaukhali Lighthouse, which was built in 1810 to guide vessels into Khijiri roads, is a massive brick structure, 80 feet high, which has weathered four storm-waves. It is used now by the Chandbali and Balasore passenger steamers of light draft, which still run down the Western channel.

Mr. Weston, Collector of Midnapur, writes that another grave has been discovered, the broken head-stone being in the P. W. house at Kedgere. The inscription is almost illegible, but runs thus—

Sacred ...
 MR. JOHN ... ARKES CAIRD
 Boatswain
 of ... C. Hon'ble Compy's Marine
 who departed this life on
 the 2nd September 1800
 Aged 24 years
 ...ta... of esteem this Stone has
 been erected
 ...oluntary subscriptions of
 His free ...
 Having served with him
 virtue ...
 His manly abilities.



Members' Note Book.



SINCE Mr. Corfield's article was in print the Editor has received from a member of our Society, Mr. George Lyell, an article reprinted from the *Hampshire Chronicle*. Mr. J. C. Lyell resided in Calcutta from 1865 to 1872 and Mr. George Lyell from 1868 to 1899, and is still, although at Home, connected with Messrs. Macneill & Co.

In the *Oriental Linguist*, or some other of the numerous educational works that were published in Calcutta from 1787 and onwards, by John Borthwick Gilchrist, LL.D., the following translation may be found. He refers to it as a happy rendering of the well-known ode by Hafiz, "Tazu bu tazu, Nou bu nou," so popular with the nautch girls in India :—

Songster sweet, begin the lay,
Ever new and ever gay ;
Bring the joy inspiring wine,
Ever fresh and ever fine.

With a heart alluring lass,
Gaily let the moments pass,
Kisses stealing while you may,
Ever fresh and ever gay.

Gentle boy whose silver feet,
Nimbly move to cadence sweet,
Fill us quick the gen'rous wine,
Ever fresh and ever fine.

How enjoy life's tedious hours
Without wine's seducing powers ?
These will make them pass away,
Ever new and ever gay.

To me the sweet enchanting maid
Devoteth charms that never fade,
Charms to inspire her poet's song,
Ever fair and ever young.

Zephyrs, while ye gently move,
By the mansions of my love,
Softly, Hafiz' strains repeat,
Ever new and ever sweet.

The *Bengal Sporting Magazine*, which succeeded the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* (1828-33), began in 1833 and ran for one hundred monthly numbers. I possess three volumes of

extracts from it, not bound up in order of publication, but apparently anyhow. Some one evidently preserved only the articles which interested him. J. H. Stocqueler, Editor of the *Calcutta Englishman*, conducted this magazine. In one of the articles "Recollections of Fishing in the Nerbudda," the following lines are recited by one of the fishermen, and a note to this effect is printed at foot of the page : "This song appeared originally in the M.U.M. (*Meerut United Magazine* ?), and was written by a talented, but eccentric being since dead."

DEATH SONG OF THE MANILLA.

In a land more blest than the stormy West
In the loveliest realm of the earth,
'Mid the sunshiny smiles of the Philippine Isles,
I received my lowly birth.

I grew apace, like a plant of grace,
Beneath a cherishing sky—
'Till a tyrant's doom, cut me off in my bloom,
And hung me out to dry.

Full soon I faded, by earth unaided,
And reft from my parent root—
I was press'd and dipp'd—I was roll'd and clipp'd
And then I became a cheroot.

In a wooden cave, like an Afric slave,
Immured with hundreds more—
We never saw light, by day or night,
'Till we reach'd proud India's shore.

On the sultry strand of that stranger land,
My brethren were set with me—
Releas'd from jail, and exposed for sale
In lots of thirty and three.

By a son of the West whose pitiless breast
Ne'er heeded a captive's sigh,
We were bought, and then, imprison'd again,
Let hither at last to die.

And now thy breath, like the wind of death,
Which sweeps o'er Arabia's plains,
Will cause a flame, to consume my frame,
Till nothing but dust remains.

I bequeath no ills, to the hand that kills—
But my redolent fume of love
I still bestow, as this world of woe,
I leave for the clouds above.

No sculpture solemn, nor urn, nor column,
May mark where my ashes lie ;
But o'er earth and air, shall the free wind bea
Such parts as are doom'd to die.

Like the Saints of old, I'm condemn'd and sold,
To death through suffering driven—
And I passed with a smile, from my funeral pile,
To become a bright cloud in heaven !

On a morning in July 1869 in the sultry rainy season, after my early ride on the Calcutta Maidan, I was sitting in the verandah of my house in Chowringhee reading the *Englishman* when I observed in it the following :—

A CURIOUS RELIC OF OLD CALCUTTA.

Within the last few days a tombstone has been disinterred in the old settlement graveyard (St John's) in Calcutta, bearing this inscription :—

“ Here lyes the body of Joseph Townshend

Pilot of the Ganges

Skillful and Industrious ;

A Kind Father and a useful friend, who departed
this life

The 26th June 1738.

Aged 85 years.

I've slipped my cable—messmates, I'm dropping down with tide ;
I have my sailing orders, while ye at anchor ride
And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.

An Ashburnham ! A Fairfax ! Hark, how the corslets ring !
Why are the blacksmiths out to-day, beating those men at the spring ?
Ho, Willie, Hob, and Cuddie !—Bring out your boats amain,
There's a great red pool to swim them o'er, yonder in Deadman's Lane.

Nay, do not cry, sweet Katie—only a month afloat,
And then the ring and the parson, at Fairlight Church, my doat ;
The flower-strewn path—the press gang !—no, I shall never see,
Her little grave, where the daisies wave, in the breeze on Fairlight Lee.

“ Shoulder to shoulder, Joe, my boy—into the crowd like a wedge ;
“ Out with your hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge ! ”
Cries Charnock—“ Scatter the faggots ! Double that Brahmin in two,
“ The tall, pale widow is mine, Joe—the little brown girl's for you.”

“ Young Joe (you're nearing sixty), why is your hide so dark,
Katie was fair, with soft, blue eyes—who blackened yours ? Why, hark !
The morning gun ! Ho, steady. The arquebuse to me—
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart, as my lead doth sound the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide ;
Moor me close to Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride ;
My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you.
Steady ! we steer for Heaven through scud-drifts cold and blue.

St. John's Churchyard being on my way into the city, I went into it to see this newly-discovered tombstone, and found it set up against Job Charnock's Mausoleum. The

inscription, finely lettered, was in relief if I remember rightly, and the stone had an ornamental border, in the form of a cable, going round it ; but the verses which I had expected to see were not on it.

According to the *Bengal Obituary* (1848) the monuments in this graveyard had become much decayed before 1802, and were then taken down, being in a dangerous condition, when the stones and marble tablets were carefully removed and placed near Charnock's tomb. Probably, at that time, the old pilot's headstone had already, by accumulating vegetation and soil, gone below the surface, not unusual in old graveyards. I then went to the office of the *Englishman* and was informed by Captain Geo. Fenwick, who was Editor, that the author of the verses was Dr. Norman Chevers of the Medical Establishment. The late Sir Joseph Fayrer referred to him as a man of erudition and experience, famous alike as a physician, a medical jurist, and an antiquarian, a man of wide and varied culture, and of a most amiable disposition. In a book published some years ago, "The Light that Failed," by Kipling, a few of these verses are given, but not correctly. The pilot reached an age but rarely attained by Europeans in Bengal, for then, and long after, Fort William, as Calcutta was then called, was considered a white man's grave. Others who lived as long were Mrs. Frances Johnson (the Begum), who died in Calcutta in 1812 at 86, and Captain Cudburt Thornhill, who was Master Attendant of the Port, who died in 1809 at 85. Warren Hastings left Calcutta in 1785, when 52 years of age, and lived till he was 85. Captain John Mills survived the horrors of the Black Hole in 1756 and died in London in 1811. He may have been over 80. He married Mrs. Vincent, a well-known actress.

The hymn "The Happy Land," so popular in Sunday Schools, was written in 1838 by a Mr. Young of Edinburgh, who died in 1882. It is an instance of the adaptation of a secular song to a religious purpose. The simple air to which it is sung is that to which the song was sung, and I believe it is of Indian origin. At the time of Mr. Young's death the following facts were elicited by correspondents to a Scottish newspaper. Long before 1838 the following song used to be sung in music schools in Scotland. The words were said to be by W. Kennedy, Esq.; music by R. A. Smith (died 1829):—

THE HINDU DANCING GIRL'S SONG.

I have come from a happy land,
Where care is unknown ;
I have parted a merry band,
To make thee mine own.
Haste ! haste ! fly with me,
Love's banquet waits for thee ;
Thine all its sweets shall be,
Thine, thine alone.

The summer has its heavy cloud,
The rose leaf will fall ;
But in our home, joy wears no shroud,
Never does it pall.
Each new morning ray
Brings no sigh for yesterday ;
No smile passed away
Would we recall.

Then hence to this happy land,
 Where care is unknown ;
 But first in a joyous band,
 I'll make thee mine own.
 Haste ! haste ! fly with me,
 Love's banquet waits for thee ;
 Thine all its sweets shall be,
 Thine, thine alone.

Whether this song was entirely Kennedy's own, or adapted or translated by him from something else, is not known ; and, although not written in India, I consider it suitable for introduction here and well worth preservation.

J. C. LYELL.

ST. CROSS MEAD, WINCHESTER,
 12th February, 1908.

MR. K. N. DHAR, B.A., of the Imperial Library, sends through Mr. E. W. Madge the following note :—

My attention has been drawn to a remarkable article in the *Pioneer* of the 20th January last headed "Monumental Ignorance" and signed "G.M.C." It is a biographical sketch of Lieutenant-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart. Its six columns present perhaps the best "life" of the General that has ever been written for no separate biography of him exists. There is one passage in "G.M.C.'s" excellent article to which exception may possibly be taken. He observes that "the only portrait extant" of Ochterlony is Bishop Heber's description of him as "a tall and pleasing old man, but so wrapped in shawls, kincub, fur, and a Mogul furred cap that his face was all that was visible."

Now, as a matter of fact, an excellent miniature of his did exist ; it was copied by the late Mr. Colesworthy Grant, the well-known Calcutta artist, and appears along with his other lithographic sketches in a bound volume which may be seen in the Imperial Library. An oil-painting of Ochterlony was presented by his nephew, the present Baronet, for the Victoria Memorial Collection, and another oil-painting by a native artist hangs in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Moreover, an equestrian portrait of Ochterlony used to hang in the Begum Sumroo's palace at Sardhana. It was by a European artist who flourished up the country some time before the Mutiny—perhaps Melville, or may be Beechey. The portrait was afterwards secured for Government House at Allahabad. This last fact is borne out by Mr. H. G. Keene in his recent work *Hindustan under Freelances*.

Quite apart from this, there is a story told about Bishop Heber avoiding entering the camp of the gallant old General on suspicion of the presence

there of an Indian lady. In this connection the question arises, was she not legally married to him by Mahomedan rites? At any rate she designated herself his widow. I learn from Mr. E. W. Madge, the writer of an article entitled "When Generals married Begums," that a person known as Mabarikul-Nissa Begum described herself as the widow of General Ochterlony, on her "remarriage" about 1833 to a native of Delhi. Neither *Burke* nor *Debrett* mentions Ochterlony's marriage; and on his death the baronetcy went to his nephew, Sir Charles Metcalfe Ochterlony. Among the first lads sent from Kalimpong to England by the Marine Society of India year before last was one named John Ochterlony, who is a grand-nephew of the "monumental" hero, being (as is believed) a son of Ross Wilkie Ochterlony of the Tingling Tea Co., Darjeeling. This gentleman was the third son of the second Baronet and died on 11th January 1900, at Calcutta, where he is buried in the Scottish Cemetery, Kuryah.

MR. KAMAKHYA MOHON BANERJEE, of Barisha, sends the following note regarding the earliest mention of Calcutta in Bengali literature and (what is perhaps more interesting) the origin of the name Chowringhee:—

1. Perhaps one of the first mention of the name of Calcutta in old Bengali literature, is in Kabikankan Mukundaram's Chandi. Mukundaram is said to have flourished some time in the sixteenth century A.D. and is one of the classic Bengali poets. The hero of his poem, Chandi Kabya, sails in search of his father to Ceylon,—through the river,—the poet incidentally mentions the names of all the celebrated places in the banks of the river which he had to pass. Calcutta was then not in a flourishing condition—but Kalighat was. The course of the river was very different from what it is at the present time. In going to the Bay of Bengal one had to pass from Calcutta to Kalighat thence to Balliaghata and thence through the old course of the river. There is no mention of the English settlers in the poem,—but there is a word "Haramad" in connection with the river pirates,—which is very probably a corruption of the Spanish word "Armada."

2. Writers have differed about the derivation of the name of "Chowringhee,"—but none of them have arrived at any conclusion. The latest suggestion—which is also a borrowed one—is in Mr. Cotton's *Calcutta, Past and Present*;—but I have never heard of the word "Cherangi,"—which Mr. Cotton thinks to be the origin of "Chowringhee," nor do I think there is any word equivalent to it in the Sanskrit, Prakrita or Bengali languages.

As to the origin of the name "Chowringhee," I think that no Indian writer will differ from me if I suggest that the word Chowringhee is a corruption of "Chowranghee" which means a sect of ascetics. Many of the old inhabitants of Calcutta may remember to have noticed an old shrine of



J. W. CORSEY OF MASH, CHAND'S CAMPING GROUND
ON THE DIAMOND HARBOUR ROAD.
(Photo by the Rev. Walter K. Firminger.)

"Shiva" just to the south of the present Presidency Jail, in latter years the Hindu sepoys used to worship in this place. In former days worship at this temple was entrusted to an ascetic who came from one of the ten sects of the celebrated ascetic, and styled himself a "Chowranghee," it is very probable that the name of Chowringhee was derived from him. The vernacular spelling of the word is the same as that of the ascetic sect and there is nothing more to show that "Chowringhee" has a different derivation. The abovementioned sects of ascetics were named after the ten followers of Sankara. It is also noteworthy that amongst the present day ascetics a "Chowranghee" is very seldom found.

Here is a list of several places of interest amongst many lying in the southern outskirts of Calcutta :—

1. No. 57, Diamond Harbour Road. In this house Dost Mahomed Khan of Kabul was kept as a state prisoner when he was brought down to Calcutta. Dost Mahomed was the first ruling potentate outside India who was made a state prisoner here during the British period. The house is better known to the Indians as the "Kaman Pota Baree" from the two canons in front of the gateway. This house was afterwards presented to the ex-King of Oudh by the Government, but somehow or other it passed through several hands before it came to its present owners.

2. Dewan Manik Chand's Garden. Situated also on the Diamond Harbour Road, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Government House. It is not generally known that Suraj-ud-daula was not directly responsible for the atrocious Black Hole: it was one of his ministers who was responsible for the inhuman act and this minister was Dewan Manik Chand. While Calcutta was besieged by the Nawab, Manik Chand was encamping in this Garden; and from his camp he issued orders to keep the English prisoners in close confinement till daybreak and produce them before the Nawab Nazim. The result is well known. The Rev. J. Long refers to this spot in his *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government* (Vol. I., p. 296). Manick Chand "had a fine country seat near Byeala (Behala) on the Diamond Harbour Road, the remains of which are still to be seen."

3. Ram Nath Mundle's Temple, in Mouza Meherpore, but better known as Old Tollygunge, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Alipore Collectorate. This beautiful temple was built in European architectural style over a century ago. The temple is one of the finest and largest in lower Bengal (enlisted on the Government list of Monuments and Temples).

4. Karuna Mayee Kali. A cluster of old temples, some of which are nearly three to four centuries old and an ancient idol of Kali, on the western bank of Adiganga, just another opposite side of the Canal and the grounds owned by the Tollygunge Club. The present owner of the temples is Babu

Tara Kumar Roy Chawdhury of Barisha. Babu Protap Chandra Ghosha, formerly Registrar of Insurances, in his well-known book the "Bangadhipa Parajaya or the defeat of the King of Bengal," says that this Kali was founded by Raja Basanta Ray, uncle of Protapaditya of Jessore fame. It has also been asserted by historians that the Portuguese Rodda, an Admiral of Protapaditya, defeated the Mogul armies in a naval engagement which is said to have been fought on the confluence of Adiganga and Vidyadhari—somewhere near the Kali founded by Basanta Ray. It may be that this naval engagement was fought near this place, where the Adiganga meets the Vidyadhari. It is very probable that the armies of Akbar was proceeding by river in search of Protapaditya to his capital Jessore (not the present Jessore) when he was encountered by the Viking (then serving as an Admiral) Rodda lying in ambush somewhere in a place which was then in the possession of the Ray Kings of Jessore.

The Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., the Editor of *Bengal : Past and Present* visited these places on the 20th February last, and so it may be expected that the historical interest attaching to the above places will now be more widely appreciated.

WITH reference to the building occupied by the Doveton College, which the School has now received notice to vacate, "FITZWALTER" writes to the *Statesman*, under date 26th March 1908, as follows :—I beg leave to submit that the statement in your issue of date, that the Doveton College premises have been occupied by that institution since 1823, is not correct. The house was originally the residence of Sir John Royds, Judge of the Supreme Court, after whom Royd (properly "Royds") Street is named. But at the time when the Parental Academy (now Doveton College) was opened, and for several years afterwards, the building was a young ladies' seminary kept by a Miss Thornton. The latter school was well known in its day, and here, among others, the daughters of General Sir Gabriel Martindell, K.C.B., received their education. On the other hand, the old "Parental" was first opened at a house then numbered 11, Park Street; it next removed to Wellington Square, East; again, in 1829, to No. 7, Park Street (afterwards occupied by the Mathematical Instrument Department), and then lastly to the present house in Free School Street. But that was not until 1839. I may add that these early migrations of the School are all mentioned in the History of the Doveton College by the late Mr. H. Andrews. In conclusion : Is the Doveton "the oldest Anglo-Indian School in Calcutta?" Surely that honour belongs to the Free School!

AT the annual distribution of prizes at the Khelat Chandra Institution on the 3rd March, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who

presided on the occasion, made a graceful reference to a member of our Executive Committee. After a dramatic representation by some of the boys, Sir Andrew Fraser observed that there had been one or two features which had given him some special pleasure. He was glad that the hand of Mr. [W. C.] Madge was working amongst them in the play which was so very well performed on the stage. He had very great pleasure to find the great moral lesson, which the play communicated, in so pleasant a manner, to so many young people. The play was entitled "The Wanderer's Return," and was based on the Parable of the Prodigal Son.

THE following letter has been addressed by the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot (the premier Earl of England) to a member of our Executive Committee :—

INGESTRE, STAFFORD, 16th February, 1908.

DEAR SIR,—I write to thank you for the photograph, which you have kindly sent to my Secretary, of the monument in Calcutta to the memory of my maternal grandfather. I am glad to have it, and am very much obliged to you.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SHREWSBURY AND TALBOT.

E. W. MADGE, ESQ.

The monument in question is a lofty pillar to the memory of Commander Richard Howe Cockerell, R.N., who died in 1839, and is buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta. The photograph was one of several others recently taken by Mr. Silas A. Perris.

IN the October Number of *Bengal : Past and Present* (p. 202) appears the following note from Dr. Busteed :—

In Mackrabie's diary, I remember seeing this entry : it occurs when speaking of the card-playing at "Barasutt" February 1776 :—

"Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses and rode or walked to an octagon Summer House built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert, who was the husband of Lady Hyde. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks, flowering shrubs and gardens. The ashes of that gentleman (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building."

Is there anything known or traceable about these names, that structure or that deposit under it ?

In an article entitled "Baraset : the Sandhurst of Bengal," which appeared in the *Journal* of the 7th July 1907, "K. N. D." wrote : "At a place about 4 miles to the north-east of the Railway Station is a big tank known as 'Madhumurali' extending over about 200 bighas of land. It is said to

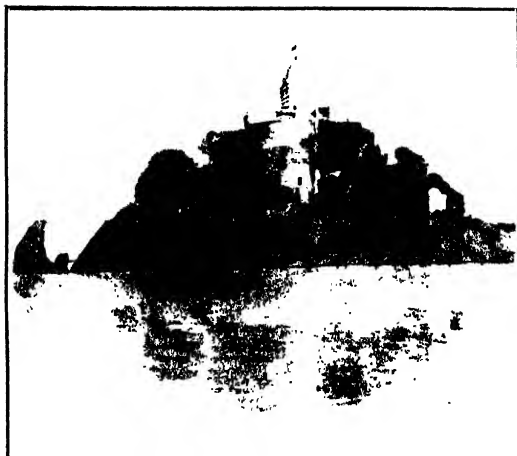
have been excavated about 300 years ago by two brothers, Madhu and Murali by name, who were merchants. On the south-east corner of the tank, situated on its high bank, is a pillar about 20 feet high overgrown with jungle. Could this possibly be the tomb of Mr. Louis Bonnaud, the indigo planter, who is said to have had his factory here to the north-west of the tank? The remains of a building consisting of 30 or 40 rooms, also overgrown with rank vegetation point to the site of the old factory. On the south-west corner of the tank is a *hauj*—an octagonal building measuring about 15 feet and consisting of four doors—which served as the Summer House of the planters and is known as the *howakhana*. The structure is about 20 feet high and is fast falling into ruin, the roof having already given way. Here is something which the C.H.S. might take note of."

WE continue to be indebted to Miss Perry of Barrackpore on this occasion for an old song, quite unknown to the present generation and not procurable anywhere nowadays. Taken from a forgotten English opera, there is scarcely anything particular about either words or air. It is just a sentimental ballad of the Haynes Bayly School, such as used to be sung in our grandmothers' drawing-rooms. And seventy years ago it used to be popular with Calcutta audiences as a favourite *encore* song of Mrs. Esther Leach, by whom it is even said to have been sung, during an interval, on the night of 2nd November, 1843, when that charming but ill-starred actress was burnt on the boards of the old *Sans-Souci*. Here are the words beginning at the title-page:—"And Cans't Thou Bid My Heart Forget?"—Elinor's Song from "Glenarvon." Sung by Madame Vestris, etc., with enthusiastic applause at the London and Bath Concerts. Composed by F. J. Klose. Leoni Levi, Music-Seller to the Royal Family, London.

And cans't thou bid my heart forget
 What once it loved so well—
 That look, that smile, when first we met,
 That last, that sad farewell?
 Ah no! by every pang I've proved,
 By every fond regret,
 I feel, tho' I no more am loved,
 I never can forget.

I wished to see that face again,
 Although 'twere changed to me,
 I thought it not such maddening pain
 As ne'er to look on thee.

But oh! 'twas torture to my breast
 To meet thine altered eye,
 To see thee smile on all the rest,
 Yet coldly pass me by!



JEHANGIRI TEMPLE - SULLANGUDI.
(Photo by A. de Cassan, Esq.)

MR. S. A. PERRIS (of Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co.), who has recently joined our Society, accompanied a few members to the Park Street Cemeteries one morning last cold weather, and took several photographs of interesting monuments there. One of these was a marble column over the grave of Master Gilbert Elliot who died in 1827, aged $7\frac{1}{2}$ years. Mr. Perris sent a copy to the Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy for submission to His Excellency, along with a few other photographs intended for the Private Secretary himself, and has received the following gratifying acknowledgment :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.
CALCUTTA,
1st February 1908.

DEAR SIR,—I submitted your letter of the 29th January and the photograph of the tomb in Park Street Cemetery to the Viceroy. I am directed to convey His Excellency's cordial thanks to you for your kind attention. Master Gilbert Elliot, whose tomb it is, was the son of John Elliot who was Private Secretary to his father when the latter was Governor-General in Calcutta. He was in the East India Company's service and lived to a good old age. The Viceroy remembers him very well.

I have also to acknowledge with many thanks the photographs which you sent for me. I am so very overworked that I have not yet been able to afford the time to attend any meeting of the Historical Society or to accompany them on their trips, so these photographs are all the more interesting to me.

To

S. A. PERRIS, ESQ.

Yours very truly,
(Sd.) J. R. DUNLOP-SMITH.



NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1907-8.
Hare, The Hon. Sir Lancelot, L.-G. ...	<i>E. B. & Assam</i> ...	16th July.
Brown, Harry ...	<i>Burn & Co., 7, Hastings Street</i> ...	4th Nov.
Thurston, John W. ...	<i>102, Clive Street</i> ...	5th "
Champkin, Cyril ...	<i>Mercantile Bank</i> ...	7th "
Mitchell, Jas. C. ...	<i>Mercantile Bank</i> ...	7th "
Leslie, W. ...	<i>2, Chowringhee Road</i> ...	14th "
Cotton, C. W. E., I.C.S. ...	<i>Bengal Club</i> ...	15th "
Gosling, F. ...	<i>German Imperial Consulate, 5, Theatre Road</i> ...	22nd "
Calvocoressi, M. J. ...	<i>Messrs. Ralli Brothers</i> ...	22nd "
Harwood, Col. P. M. O. ...	<i>United Service Club</i> ...	22nd "
Shakespear, Lt.-Col. J. ...	<i>Political Agent, Manipur, Imphal-Assam</i> ...	22nd "
Smith, G. H. ...	<i>Fort Chunar, U. P.</i> ...	27th "
Raymond, Miss K. ...	<i>La Martinière Girls' School</i> ...	29th "
Graves, Henry G. ...	<i>United Service Club</i> ...	30th "
Murshidabad, H. H. The Nawab Bahadur	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i> ...	1st Dec.
Stewart, F. W. ...	<i>10 Gladstone Wylie & Co.</i> ...	4th "
Dunbar, L. G. ...	<i>Bank of Bengal</i> ...	4th "
Spink, T. W. ...	<i>10 Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.</i> ...	5th "
Mazumdar, P. C. ...	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i> ...	14th "
Fazl Rubbee, Khan Bahadur ...	<i>Dewan of Murshidabad</i> ...	14th "
Bayley, C. B., M.V.O. ...	<i>Writers' Buildings</i> ...	1st January.
Careless, Rev. W. E. ...	<i>Howrah Parsonage</i> ...	1st "
Manook, J. ...	<i>9, Short Street</i> ...	27th "
Hartley, E. R. ...	<i>Mercantile Bank</i> ...	31st "
Dowbiggin, H. B. L. ...	<i>Mercantile Bank</i> ...	31st "
Harris, A. E. ...	<i>5, Park Street</i> ...	31st "
Crichton, J. R. ...	<i>10 Messrs. Sinclair Murray & Co.</i> ...	31st "
Johnstone, J. C. R. ...	<i>11, Hastings Street</i> ...	1st Feb.
Nasir Ali Mirza, Prince	<i>The Palace, Murshidabad</i> ...	1st "
Mumford, G. B., I.C.S. ...	<i>Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Giridih</i> ...	12th "
Bingley, Lt.-Col. A. H. ...	<i>Magistrates' House, Howrah</i> ...	18th "
Manmatha Nath Moity ...	<i>Serampore</i> ...	18th "
Kotthaus, Robt. ...	<i>10 F. W. Heilgers & Co., 136, Canning Street</i> ...	5th March.
La Touche, T. H. D. ...	<i>Geological Survey of India, 27, Chowringhee</i> ...	13th "



Approved by

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Date... 27 FEB 1959

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